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ELLIOTT MONOGRAPHS

IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

26

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ANTONIO PUCCI

# LE NOIE

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

KENNETH McKENZIE



PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS  
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**LE NOIE**







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1931



## PREFACE

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An account of the scope and purpose of the present work will be found in the first chapter of the Introduction. It was more than thirty years ago that I became interested in Antonio Pucci ; but my attention was first directed to the *Noie* in connection with the studies of Professor Raymond T. Hill, then a graduate student in Yale University, whose remarkable articles on the *enueg* or *noie* as a literary form are frequently cited in the following pages. Having made copies and procured photographic reproductions of several manuscripts, and having published the text of two individual manuscripts, I began in 1926-27 the preparation of the present edition of the *Noie*, using the material which I had collected as subject-matter in a graduate course at Princeton University. To the members of my class at that time — Mr. Alfred L. Foulet, Mr. Henry A. Grubbs, Jr., and Mr. De Vaux de Lancey — I am happy to express my appreciation of their intelligent assistance, amounting to valuable collaboration, in the collation and classification of the manuscripts, the establishing and copying of the text and variants, and the investigation of various problems. Among other friends in America, I am indebted to Professors Rudolph Altrocchi, Lawrence Levengood and George L. Doty, each of whom while in Italy took the trouble to look up and copy material for me in various libraries ; to Professor Antonio Solalinde, who made for me a collation of the Seville manuscript of *Il Manganello* ; to Professor Margaret H. Jackson, curator of the Plimpton Collection at



Wellesley ; and to others whose names will be mentioned in connection with specific details.

To two Italian friends I am especially grateful, not only for information and encouragement freely given in personal conversation and by correspondence, but for the extraordinary liberality with which they allowed me to utilize indispensable material which they had collected for their own use. Dr. Salomone Morpurgo, whose name stands beside that of the late Alessandro D'Ancona as an authority on the life and works of Pucci, on learning that I had undertaken to edit the *Noie*, gave me copies and collations of several manuscripts, some of which but for this act of generosity might never have come to my attention. And Professor Ezio Levi, now the successor of the late Francesco D'Ovidio in the University of Naples, also gave me valuable information, and a complete manuscript copy of the incunabulum at Imola, hitherto never mentioned in print in connection with Pucci. From my numerous foot-notes the reader will see how much, in addition to these personal favors, the present work owes to the publications of these and other Italian scholars. Other friends in Italy, whose names it is a pleasure to record here, I wish to thank for kind assistance in various matters; especially Senator Pio Rajna, Professor Michele Barbi, Professor Enrico Rostagno and Professor Antonio Zardo, of Florence; Senator Michele Scherillo of Milan; Professor Alfredo Galletti, who adorns the chair made illustrious by Carducci and Pascoli at Bologna. I also recall with sincere appreciation the many courtesies shown me by librarians and other officials in the various Italian libraries to which my quest for Pucci material has led me.

Finally, I wish to thank the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in meeting the expense of preparing this work for publication.

K. McK.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

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## INTRODUCTION

1. — Purpose and Scope of the Present Work.....	IX
2. — Life and Writings of Antonio Pucci.....	XVI
3. — The <i>Noie</i> as a Literary Form.....	LIV
4. — Analysis of Pucci's <i>Noie</i> and its Relation to other Works. ....	LXXVIII
5. — The Word " <i>noia</i> ".....	XCVIII
6. — Description of Manuscripts and Editions. ....	CXXVII
7. — Classification of Manuscripts with Table of Terzine.	CXLIX

LE NOIE.....	1
--------------	---

## ADDITIONS TO THE TEXT

1. — Interpolated Terzine.....	23
2. — Ending of the <i>Noie</i> in Certain Manuscripts —the <i>Zoccoli</i> Couplet .....	25
3. — The Imola Incunabulum and the Sonnet " <i>Il gio- vaneche vuol avere onore</i> " .....	31
4. — The Text of the 1775 Edition.....	41

GLOSSARY.....	47
---------------	----

## APPENDIX

1. — Pucci's Sonnet on the Portrait of Dante by Giotto	59
2. — <i>Il Manganello</i> .....	68

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	83
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## INTRODUCTION

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### 1. — PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE PRESENT WORK

Antonio Pucci, the prolific popular poet of Florence, is one of the important writers of the fourteenth century, on account not only of his individual accomplishment but of the light thrown by his writings on the moral, social and political ideals of his time. In spite of this fact, no serious attempt has yet been made to publish either a comprehensive study of his career or a complete edition of his works. This lack has frequently been deplored by Italian scholars, and attention was called to it by the present writer in 1913. There have, however, been many studies of certain aspects of the subject, and nearly all his poems are available in more or less satisfactory editions, although most of these are at present out of print; but of his prose *Zibaldone* only fragments have been published, and it seems that an exhaustive investigation of the documents bearing on his life has yet to be made.

As is well known, Pucci's various writings have been preserved in a scattered manner in an immense number of manuscripts, and individual poems were printed in various forms from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth: the romantic poems *La Reina d'Oriente* and *Apollonio di Tiro*, the capitolo on the Mercato Vecchio in Florence, the *Noie*, and a number of sonnets, these last frequently being ascribed to Burchiello or other writers. In 1772-75 his longest work, the *Centiloquio*; another long historical poem, the

*Guerra Pisana*; the *Noie*, the *Mercato Vecchio*, the poem on Old Age, and a number of sonnets, were published in Florence by Ildefonso di San Luigi and Domenico Maria Manni, together with biographical and philological introductions of a character notably scholarly for that time. Since the eighteenth century, as Imbriani picturesquely says, not a "cane di tipografo" has ventured to reprint the two longer poems; but the shorter ones, together with other sonnets edited from Roman manuscripts by Allacci in 1661, were included in the Villarosa anthology in 1817, in Carducci's selection from fourteenth-century poets in 1862, and in other collections and manuals. Single poems came to light occasionally, as "Un gentiluom di Roma una fiata" in 1852 from a Vatican manuscript. A great impetus was given to Pucci studies in 1867 and the years following, when D'Ancona was enabled to copy a considerable portion of the uniquely important Kirkup manuscript, and to study two manuscripts of the *Zibaldone*. He and others to whom he communicated some of his copies — particularly Morpurgo — have published in journals or *per nozze* several texts from these manuscripts, together with documents bearing on Pucci's life, and studies concerning matters of detail. Particularly notable are Morpurgo's publication of the petition of 1369; studies of the *Zibaldone*, with portions of the text, by D'Ancona (1869), Graf (1883) and Lazzeri (1904); and Morpurgo's subsequent discovery of the autograph manuscript of the *Zibaldone*, although little use has as yet been made of it. At the same time have appeared the poems of Girardo Patecchio, and studies or editions of several fourteenth-century writers like Francesco da Barberino, Bindo Bonichi, Saviozzo, Antonio da Ferrara, Giovanni da Prato (author of the *Paradiso degli Alberti*), and Franco Sacchetti, beside general works like Volpi's *Il Trecento* and his *Rime di trecentisti minori*, all of which have importance in connection with the study of Pucci; while, with the possible exception of Sacchetti, Pucci stands

out more and more as the best representative of the life of the people and the most interesting minor poet of the century.

In 1909 there appeared in Bologna a volume by Ferruccio Ferri, with the somewhat misleading title *La Poesia popolare in Antonio Pucci*, which promised to go far toward meeting the need for a comprehensive work on the subject. Unfortunately it proved to be made up largely of ill-arranged quotations from other critics and editors, the biographical and bibliographical material being superficially and inaccurately utilized; but nevertheless Ferri did what more competent scholars might have done and hitherto have neglected to do: he printed, even though in an unsatisfactory manner, many previously unpublished poems by Pucci, and reprinted others that had appeared only in rare and limited editions and were not generally accessible. Hence, in spite of its unscholarly character, the book is necessarily cited frequently in the following pages. The review of it by Ghino Lazzeri (1909), a brilliant piece of destructive criticism, is itself a real contribution to the subject; in it, for instance, Lazzeri first published the official record of Pucci's death in 1388. He has not, however, yet produced the book on Pucci which he was supposed to have in preparation and which has long been awaited. In later years the important contributions to the study of Pucci have been Ezio Levi's edition (1914) of the romantic poems (*cantari leggendari*), and his critical discussion of them (an aspect of Pucci's work entirely neglected by Ferri); and the discovery, identification and description by Miss Margaret H. Jackson of the Kirk-up manuscript, which had migrated to America and for some forty years had been lost sight of. This manuscript, from which the present writer published the text of the *Noie* in 1912, has since returned to Florence, and a more detailed description of its contents has been published by Morpurgo. As will appear later, its text of the *Noie* forms the basis of the present edition.

It was not the intention of the writer to attempt a complete and exhaustive study of the life and works of Antonio Pucci, but rather to offer a contribution which may be useful in the future for such a study. The primary purpose is to give here a critical text of the *Noie*, based on all the manuscripts and editions, together with the necessary apparatus and illustrative material; and this purpose has been constantly kept in mind, even though the investigation may seem at times to wander far afield and, in relation to the comparatively short text itself, to be unduly extended. Twenty-one manuscripts of the *Noie* are known, and an incunabulum edition without author's name, date or place, of which a single copy is preserved at Imola. A Riccardian text was printed in 1775 and reprinted in 1817 and 1909; a Vatican text in 1884, without mention of Pucci's name; the Kirkup text in 1912 and an Oxford text in 1913, with a few variants. No edition has heretofore been published that was based on a study of any considerable number of manuscripts. To judge by the number of manuscripts, the *Noie* was the most widely diffused of all Pucci's writings, although *La Reina d'Oriente* was more frequently printed. Despite Pucci's warning against changing what he wrote, many of the manuscripts differ widely among themselves, and in some of them the additions are interesting and significant. Since the *Noie* is not an impersonal work, but the one which perhaps better than any other gives an insight into the character of the author and illustrates the daily life of his fellow-citizens, it affords opportunity for extended study and comment. This opportunity is by no means exhausted here, even for the *Noie* alone; and when one considers that many other poems by Pucci throw light on the *Noie* and present interesting problems of their own, the extent of the material for investigation becomes evident. No attempt is here made to give a complete list or a general description of manuscripts other than those containing the *Noie*; but many are men-



tioned which came to the writer's attention, and various data are given for what they may be worth. In the case of a few poems, notably the sonnet *Il giovane che vuol avere onore*, the readings of all available manuscripts have been collected with care, partly in order to show what could be done in many other cases. Numerous matters more or less intimately connected with the main subject are touched upon in such a way as to suggest promising lines of further investigation, which we have neither the time nor the space to take up more fully in connection with the present study.

Since this is the first work in English which deals with Pucci on a broad scale, it naturally includes first of all a general account of his life and writings. This account makes no claim to originality except in a few details; but as it brings together facts and theories from a large number of widely scattered sources, with copious bibliographical references, it may prove useful as a summary of the knowledge at present available in this connection, and as a suggestion of problems still unsolved. The sketch of the history of the *noie* as a literary form is based in part on the works of Hill, Levi and others, with some new material; it is followed by an analysis of Pucci's *Noie* and a discussion of its relation to other writings by Pucci or his contemporaries, especially certain sonnets on behavior and on the rearing of children, here studied from the manuscripts with several unpublished texts. A glossary of difficult or especially noteworthy words in the *Noie* is appended to the text; but no attempt is made to study in a general way the language of this poem or of Pucci's writings as a whole. However, one chapter of the introduction is devoted to the history of the word *noia* and related words in Italian and other languages; a new theory of the origin of the word *noia* is set forth, based on numerous examples collected chiefly from Italian poets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The manuscripts and editions of the *Noie*

are described and classified, with a table showing, *terzina* by *terzina*, just what is contained in the several manuscripts. The text of the poem is given according to the Kirkup manuscript (A), with indication of every departure from the exact reading of the manuscript, and with all the significant variants of all the other manuscripts and the incunabulum edition. The *terzine* added in some manuscripts are given separately after the text, with particular attention to the closing verses in each manuscript where these are important or interesting; this is the case especially with a couplet containing the word *zoccoli*, given in four manuscripts, and the sonnet which in two manuscripts and in the incunabulum follows the *Noie*. After the Glossary are appendices: one on Pucci's sonnet on the portrait of Dante by Giotto with the text of the sonnet as it reads in the single manuscript that contains it; and one on *Il Manganello*, a fifteenth-century poem in *terza rima* existing in three excessively rare editions and in a manuscript never before compared with the printed text, the poem showing the influence of the *Noie*.

Great care has been taken to make the Bibliography as serviceable as possible. It is too much to hope that it is complete or free from errors, but everything of real importance for the study of Pucci is probably included, as well as many items of purely antiquarian or bibliographical interest. The works which treat Pucci specifically, and the editions of his writings, are assembled at the end of the book, even though cited earlier; other works which mention him incidentally, or which have less direct connection with him, are cited only in the foot-notes.

While the *Noie* and its author form the connecting link between the various parts of the present work, it is evident that some aspects of the subject are treated much more in detail than others, so that the work may seem to many critics ill-proportioned. The writer is aware of the justice of such a criticism; but nevertheless he thinks it advisable

to include here such material bearing on Pucci as has come to hand, leaving until a later time, or to other investigators, the task of finding more material where the outline at present is meagre; and of filling in the gaps, as well as correcting the mistakes, that may be discovered in this monograph. He does not need to emphasize that much remains to be done in the study of the life, times and writings of Antonio Pucci.

For the convenience of readers we may mention here that certain journals are cited by initials, as follows :

<i>AGI</i>	Archivio Glottologico Italiano
<i>GFR</i>	Giornale di Filologia Romanza
<i>GSLI</i>	Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>RBLI</i>	Rassegna Bibliografica della Letteratura Italiana
<i>RasCLI</i>	Rassegna Critica della Letteratura Italiana
<i>RivCLI</i>	Rivista Critica della Letteratura Italiana
<i>RFR</i>	Rivista di Filologia Romanza
<i>SFR</i>	Studi di Filologia Romanza
<i>ZRP</i>	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie

Other journals are cited by the full title. "*Jahrbuch*" means *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*; "*Scelta*" means *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo XIII al XVII*, published at Bologna; "*Inventari*" means *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia* by Mazzatinti and others; "*Poesie di A. P.*" is the edition *Delle Poesie di Antonio Pucci celebre versificatore fiorentino del MCCC... pubblicate... da Fr. Ildefonso di San Luigi*, Firenze, Cambiagi, in four volumes, 1772-75 (being Vols. III-VI of the *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*), the general introduction and the *Centiloquio* occupying the first three volumes and part of the fourth, followed by other poems, including the *Noie*. "*Ferri*" is the work already mentioned,

F. Ferri, *La Poesia Popolare in Antonio Pucci*, Bologna, Beltrami, 1909.

## 2. — LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ANTONIO PUCCI

Antonio Pucci, bell-ringer, town-crier and popular poet, was born in Florence early in the fourteenth century, and died there in 1388. In his writings he refers several times to his love and admiration for his native place; thus in *Le Proprietà di Mercato Vecchio* he says that no other piazza can compare with that of Florence, the city where he was born. The date of his birth is uncertain. In the last canto of the *Centiloquio*, his versification of Giovanni Villani's *Cronica*, he speaks of himself as already an old man in 1373 (or, according to some manuscripts, 1376). This last canto (No. xc) contains a description of Florence as Pucci knew it, and may have been added some time after the previous cantos had been composed.<sup>1</sup> In the *Centiloquio*

### 1. Canto xc ends :

Mancaci qui la Prosa per rimare;  
Ma se Villan, figliuol dell'Autore  
Vorrà, potremo ancora seguitare;  
Se non vorrà, mi scuso a te, Lettore.

This canto corresponds to lib. xi, cap. 50, of the *Cronica*, and the events are of 1336, whereas, as is well known, Giovanni Villani lived until 1348, and his *Cronica* extends far beyond 1336. Canto xc of the *Centiloquio* begins :

Settantatre mille trecen correndo  
Mi veggio vecchio, e non mi dice il core  
Poter più oltre seguitar volendo.  
Lasciando adunque il dir dell'Autore  
Ad altro di maggior sofficienza,  
Mi parrebbe commetter grande errore,  
S'io non dicessi della mia Fiorenza  
Alcuna cosa, come situata,  
Ed adorna la veggio in mia presenza.

See *Poesie di Antonio Pucci*, Vol. IV, pp. i-vi, 176-77. These passages, and the sonnet *Savio lettore* appended to the *Centiloquio*



Pucci usually follows quite closely the text of Villani; occasionally, however, he adds details, or a statement that he himself was a witness of events described. The earliest such statement seems to be one concerning the birth, in January, 1316, of a child with two heads: — "I saw it," he says, "just as you see this writing"; and Villani makes no such statement.<sup>1</sup> If, as we may presume, his recollection of the event is accurate, he must have been old enough in 1316 to observe and remember it; this would not necessarily put his birth earlier than about 1310. Similar statements are occasionally made concerning events from 1325 on, such as would not have been likely to attract the attention of a small boy.<sup>2</sup> By 1333, the year of the great flood which he described in one of his earliest compositions, Pucci was already a full-grown man, independently established; in relating in this serventese how rapidly the catastrophe overwhelmed Florence, he says:

(*ibid.*, p. 187), may indicate that Pucci did not receive the balance of Villani's text until some time after finishing canto xc.

1. Villani, *Cronica*, ed. Magheri, Firenze, 1823, Vol. IV, p. 78, lib. ix, cap. 79.: "E nel detto anno del mese di Gennaio... nacque a Terraio in Valdarno uno fanciullo con due corpi così fatto e fu recato in Firenze, e vivette più di venti di; poi morì allo spedale di santa Maria della Scala, l'uno prima che l'altro." The year in Florentine style is 1315, in modern style January, 1316. Villani adds that a birth of this sort was regarded as a sign of ill omen. Pucci's version shows several differences, *Centiloquio*, canto LI, terzine 91-93 (*Poesie*, III, p. 76):

Nel detto anno, del mese di Gennaio,  
 Nacque un fanciul con due capi, e tre piedi,  
 E quattro mani, in Valdarno al Terraio.  
 Questo vid'io, come lo scritto vedi,  
 E com'egli è alla Scala intagliato,  
 Così di carne fu, or lo mi credi.  
 E venti di vivette in quello stato,  
 E poi morì, secondo ch'io intesi,  
 Un' gra prima l'un, che l'altro lato.

2. *Centiloquio*, canto LXIII, terz. 40; LXIV, 85; LXVI, 75; LXVII, 7, etc. Cf. Ferri, *La Poesia popolare in Antonio Pucci*, pp. 1-4, 116.



I' dico ch'io era a meza via  
 A ritornare in verso casa mia,  
 Ch'i'udi' dir che'l Ponte Vecchio già  
 Per l'acqua rotto.<sup>1</sup>

In 1369, as we shall see, Pucci stated that he had been in the service of the commune for thirty-five years. In 1349 we find him mentioned as *approvatore*, a position which required him to be at least thirty-six years of age. In view of this evidence, we may conclude that he was born about 1310 or shortly before. The problem is complicated by the fact that Pucci himself makes contradictory statements, and that other persons of the same or a similar name have sometimes been confused with him — even a cardinal of the fifteenth century and a certain Antonia Pulci. Thus the Antonio Pucci mentioned in documents of 1389, 1390, and later, is another person; this is shown by Ghino Lazzeri, who has published<sup>2</sup> from the Florentine archives the record of our poet's death, October 13, 1388.

According to D. M. Manni,<sup>3</sup> who seems to have had sources of information not now available, as well as a well-developed power of imagination, Antonio Pucci the poet was the son of a bell-founder Puccio who was making bells as early as 1286, and in 1318 was living in the quarter of

1. The serventese is published from the Kirkup manuscript (our ms. A), with comparison of Cod. Riccard. 2971, by S. Morpurgo and J. Luchaire, *La Grande Inondation de l'Arno en MCCCXXXIII*, Paris-Florence, 1911; see p. 26. The text is accompanied by a French translation and notes, and by canto LXXXIV of the *Centiloquio* in which Pucci paraphrases, with additions, the account of the flood given by Villani. Morpurgo observes, p. 11, that in 1333 Pucci was not yet thirty years old.

2. In his review of Ferri's book, *RBLI*, XVII (1909), p. 89; Pucci, identified by his residence in the sesto San Piero Maggiore and the quartiere San Giovanni, was to be buried in Santa Croce. See also Morpurgo, *Antonio Pucci e Vito Biagi*, cited below, pp. 11-19. For the confusion of names, cf. Manni in *Poesie di A.P.*, I, pp. III-VII; *RasCLI*, XXIX, 267.

3. *Notizie storiche intorno ad Antonio Pucci antico versificatore fiorentino assemblate da Domenico Maria Manni*, in *Poesie di Antonio Pucci*, Firenze, 1772, Vol. I, pp. III-XXII; reprinted in his *Le Veglie Piacevoli*, Firenze, 1815.

S. Michele Visdomini. Antonio is frequently called *campanaio*, a term which means not only bell-ringer (as he was), but also bell-founder.<sup>1</sup> As to Puccio there is no doubt in Manni's mind; he was "Campanaio nel significato di Bronzista, o Gettator di Campane"; and his son Antonio "potè mantenersi in quello stesso mestiero, ed esercizio." Indeed, it is not improbable, as Manni maintains, that Antonio and his brothers worked for a time with their father. The metal-foundries were situated in or near the Via Ghibellina and what in the eighteenth century was still called Via delle Fornaci — now that portion of the Via dell' Agnolo which lies between Via de' Macci and Viale Carlo Alberto, the site of the former city wall.<sup>2</sup> There the monastery of Santa Verdiana, now a prison, was afterwards built; and there, doubtless, the Pucci family cast bells. It was in that vicinity that Antonio, who became town bell-ringer about 1334, had his house and garden. Near by were tanneries, the odor of which must have been annoying; Pucci does not mention them in his *Noie*, but in giving a list of the guilds (*Centiloquio* xci, terz. 66-80), after speaking of the metal-founders,

Maestri della pietra Cittadini  
Ch'a' Fornaciai s'accostan di leggieri,  
Dodecim' Arte son tra' Fiorentini,

he pays his respects to the tanners:

La sedecima sono i Galigai,  
Che sentir fan da lungi i lor rigagnoli.

Concerning Pucci's garden a characteristic story is told by his friend Franco Sacchetti,<sup>3</sup> who says that Pucci urged

1. Cf. G. Cappuccini, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*, s. v.: Chi ha l'uffizio di sonar le campane. Meno com., Chi fonde e fabbrica le campane.

2. This information was kindly given to me by Senator Pio Rajna, who refers to *Stradario storico e amministrativo della città e del comune di Firenze*, 1913, p. 3.

3. Novella 175 in O. Gigli's edition, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1888.

him to tell it. Sacchetti calls Pucci "piacevole fiorentino, dicitore di molte cose in rima," and continues: "avea una casa dalle fornaci della via Ghibellina, e là avea un orticello che non era appena uno staïoro, e in quello poco terreno avea posto quasi ogni frutto, ecc." Pucci was extremely proud of his garden, and wrote a capitolo describing it, now unfortunately lost. He kept the garden carefully enclosed by a wall, so that no one should enter it except through the house. But one evening some friends of his broke a hole through the wall and introduced a mule and two donkeys into the enclosure, then repairing the wall so that no break appeared. In the morning Pucci, dismayed at the damage done to his precious plants by the hungry animals, was completely puzzled as to who had put them in the garden, and by what means. Ultimately, however, he discovered the perpetrators, and made peace with them on condition that each of them should give him a dinner. Sacchetti comments on the conduct of Pucci in this affair as showing tact and good sense.

That Sacchetti and Pucci were intimate friends is shown not only by the novella, but also by their exchange of sonnets. In pathetic verses<sup>1</sup> beginning:

I' sono in alto mar con gran tempesta;  
L'albero è rotto e la vela è stracciata...

Pucci says that he is so distressed on account of his son that he seems to be at sea in a storm, on a half-wrecked

Reprinted by Imbriani, *Illustrazioni al Capitolo dantesco del Centiloquio*, Napoli, 1880, pp. 3-6; and by Ferri, pp. 9-11; paraphrased by Manni, *l. c.*

1. Published, with Sacchetti's reply, from the autograph ms. of Sacchetti, Cod. Laur. Ashburnh. 574, by Volpi, *Rime di Trecentisti minori*, pp. 85, 158; see also *Poesie di A. P.*, I, p. xx, and Ferri, p. 192. Pucci's sonnet, one of his best from a poetical point of view, recalls Petrarca's superb "Passa la nave mia colma d'oblio" (*Rime*, No. 189). Cf. also "Per alto mar con piccola barchetta" by il Cieco di Ferrara, in *GSLI*, XCIV, 273.



ship abandoned by the crew, with little hope of reaching port; and in his despair he turns to his friend for advice :

Onde a te, Franco, vegno,  
Perché rinfranchi col tuo buon consiglio  
Antonio Pucci tuo, ch'è 'n tal periglio.

Sacchetti replies on the same rhymes :

Antonio mio, non è d'umana gesta  
Chi con bonaccia segue sua giornata...

He who has a wicked son is always troubled, he who has a good one gets little benefit; the sea is salt and the harbor is bitter, you must be brave and put your hope in Heaven. Usually Pucci was less pessimistic about the rearing of children, a subject on which he had pronounced views; but in a sonnet beginning : "Quando 'l fanciul da piccolo scioccheggia,"<sup>1</sup> after recommending corporal punishment for disobedient children and imprisonment for an erring young man of twenty, he adds that if at thirty your son goes wrong, you should cease to acknowledge him as your own. This sonnet is addressed to "Amico mio," and its counsel may have been drawn from the experience referred to in the sonnet to Sacchetti. We know nothing further about Pucci's son; his wife he seldom mentions in his poems, but that he was happily married may be inferred from his reference to his wife and family in the *Canzone della Vecchiezza* to be discussed presently, and from his defence of women in the sonnet beginning:

La femmina fa l'uom viver contento,  
Gli uomini senza lor niente sanno.  
Trista la casa dove non ne stanno,  
Però che senza lor vi si fa stento.

This sonnet, written in reply to a misogynistic one by

1. Volpi, p. 108; Ferri, p. 203; *GSLI*, I, pp. 288, 521. This sonnet is to be discussed later in another connection.

Buto Giovannini, we shall consider further in the chapter on "The *Noie* as a Literary Form," in connection with the *Contrasto delle donne*, a dialogue which alternately blames and praises women. In another sonnet :

Amico mio, da poi ch'hai tolto moglie,  
Far ti convien ragion che tu rinaschi,<sup>1</sup>

Pucci urges his newly married friend to abandon evil ways and begin to save money; and in the sonnet "Figliuola mia" he gives similar advice to a bride.

To Sacchetti, Pucci addressed two other sonnets, to which Sacchetti replied;<sup>2</sup> and he also exchanged sonnets with two other well-known poets: Antonio da Ferrara and Giovanni Boccaccio. To the former, after his visit to Florence (probably in June, 1357 or 1358), Pucci addressed a sonnet beginning:

Maestro Antonio, io so che di Fiorenza  
Cercato avete il sito con le mura...

and ending with a request for a statement of the distinguished visitor's impressions of the city; evidently the custom of interviewing travellers is of venerable age! Antonio da Ferrara rose to the occasion, and in a sonnet on the same rhymes,

Benchè non sia da tanto mia sentenza...

he says that he has never seen the equal of "questa Fior che 'n prescio sale"; but what he especially admires is the freedom of the commune. As an official of the city (he was

1. Volpi, p. 109; Ferri, p. 179. Ascribed to Pucci in Cod. Magl. VII. 1145 and Laur. XC. sup. 89, anonymous in other mss., and ascribed to Niccolò Povero in one: see Ezio Levi, "Le paneruzzole di Niccolò Povero," in *Studi Medievali*, III (1908), 81-108 and in *Poesia di popolo e poesia di corte nel Trecento*, Livorno, Giusti, 1915, p. 79. See also Ferri, p. 188.

2. On political events, apparently of 1384 and 1387. See Volpi, pp. 104, 144; Ferri, pp. 187, 190.

at this time *banditore* and *approvatore*), Pucci must have been pleased at this appreciation.<sup>1</sup>

The *tenzone* with Boccaccio consists of the latter's enquiry in the sonnet,

Due belle donne nella mente Amore  
Mi reca spesso...,

as to whether he should choose for his love a gay and lively maiden or a widow *di brun vestita*; and Pucci's reply on the same rhymes, which is humble in tone, and ends as follows:

Onde io ti dico, come a padre figlio,  
Che per la vedova abbandoni il giglio.

The subject of discussion is of course conventional; but, as Massera suggests, Boccaccio may refer to his affair with the widow mentioned in the *Corbaccio*, in which case the *tenzone* would date from 1354. With characteristic modesty Pucci, an older man than Boccaccio, recognizes the distance between them as poets.<sup>2</sup>

That Pucci was no aristocrat but a man of the people, would be evident from the style of his writing and the subjects treated, even if we did not have specific statements showing that he was as modest in regard to his social status as in regard to his poetical ability. For instance, in May, 1342, he wrote a *serventese* on the war then in pro-

1. The two sonnets were printed from Cod. Laur. Gadd. 198 by Bandini in his catalogue of the Laurentian library, 1792, II, p. 193; they are also in Cod. Ricc. 1103, from which the one by Pucci was printed in *Poesie di A. P.*, IV, p. 288. Both are printed by Ferri, pp. 197-98; and, with valuable comments, by Ezio Levi, *Maestro Antonio da Ferrara*, Roma, 1920, pp. 78-81.

2. See A. F. Massera, *Rime di Giovanni Boccacci*, Bologna, 1914, No. lxxxix, pp. ccxciv, 117; and the same editor's *Giovanni Boccacci, La Caccia di Diana e le Rime*, Torino, 1914, pp. 123-25. The two sonnets were first printed by Baldelli, *Rime di messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, Livorno, 1802, p. 53; also in Ferri, pp. 210-11. For manuscripts, see M. Barbi, *Studi sul Canzoniere di Dante*, Firenze, 1915, pp. 249, 259, 263, 269, 273.



gress between Florence and Pisa, in which two of the stanzas read as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Signor, pognam ch'i' sia di vil nascita,  
 I' pur nacqui nel corpo di Firenza,  
 Come qual c'è di più sofficienza;  
                                   Onde 'l mi duole...  
 So ben, Signor, ch' i' ò fatto fallanza:  
 Ch'un semplic'uom, com'io, pien d'ignoranza,  
 Non de' consiglio dare a cumunanza  
                                   Sì verace...

While he was obviously in touch with public opinion as it expressed itself in the streets and squares of Florence, he also had access, as town-crier, to the meetings of the Council; and thus he no doubt often picked up inside information before it became generally known. This was not the case, however, before he became crier; in a very amusing sonnet,<sup>2</sup>

Signor Priori, i' sono una cicala  
 Ch' a' fanti dato son per penitenza...,

he says that he plagues the footmen with his requests to be allowed to come up to the meeting of the Priors, but no word from them comes down to him, and he fears that if he went up without permission he might be thrown downstairs; he wishes to meet the Priors face to face, "com'è l'usanza della gente degna," and he begs that the "fanti" be ordered "che lascin su venire Antonio Pucci." His purpose was presumably to obtain employment in the service of the commune, partly, no doubt, so that he might express public opinion directly to the Priors instead of simply voicing it in the streets. Another sonnet, anonymous

1. Published from the Kirkup ms. by A. D'Ancona, *Sermintese storico di Antonio Pucci per la guerra di Firenze con Pisa 1342*, Livorno, 1876 (per nozze Paoli-Martelli); also in Ferri, p. 263.

2. Published from Cod. Laurenziano XC sup. 89 by C. Arlia, *Due componimenti di Antonio Pucci fiorentino*, in *Propugnatore*, XIV, 1, p. 163 (1881); reprinted by Volpi, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Ferri, p. 207.

in the single manuscript that contains it, but most probably by Pucci,<sup>1</sup> definitely petitions for appointment as *banditore*:

I banditor, che son vostra famiglia,  
Esser vorrei di lor; s'io ne son degno,  
Faronne prova a voi con chiare ciglia.

In fact, Pucci is recorded as *banditore* as early as 1349. In the *Statuto del Podestà* (1355), from which extracts are published by Morpurgo,<sup>2</sup> it is provided that every year in March "li signori priori de l'arti e 'l gonfaloniere della giustizia," in consultation with other officials, shall appoint seven *approvatori* to serve for one year, good and loyal citizens of Florence, *popolari et guelfi*, at least thirty-six years of age, of whom four are at the same time to be *banditori*. The *approvatori* were auditors or comptrollers. The *banditori* were required to be present at meetings of the Priors; they had to furnish themselves at their own expense with silver trumpets, and go about the city and suburbs on horseback, first blowing the trumpet to attract attention, and then making the official proclamations in a loud voice. In 1369 Pucci, one of the four who were at the same time *banditori* and *approvatori*, petitioned the Priors and the Gonfaloniere of Justice to be relieved of the former office and retained in the latter, exchanging places by

1. This is the opinion of Volpi, who publishes it, *op. cit.*, p. 84, from Cod. Laur. SS. Annunz. 122, f. 249v. Also in Ferri, p. 207. The sonnet begins:

Signor prior dell'arte d'onor degni,  
Col vostro caporal della giustizia...

2. Antonio Pucci e Vito Biagi banditori fiorentini del secolo XIV (by S. Morpurgo), published with *Dodici strambotti di Luigi Pulci* (by A. Zenatti) per nozze Biagi-Piroli, Roma, 1881. This opuscolo contains the text of Pucci's petition, with important notes, and from it are derived most of the details here mentioned. Several corrections and additions, with precise references to the *Libro dei morti della Grascia* and the *Libro delle provisioni* in the Florentine archives, are given in G. Lazzeri's review of Ferri, *RBLI*, XVII, pp. 86-90.

mutual consent with Vito Biagi. In his characteristically humorous and familiar style he states that for thirty-five years he had been an unworthy official of the commune of Florence; for eighteen years he had rung the bell, an instrument weighing six thousand pounds; then for seventeen years he had had the duty of sounding a lighter instrument — a silver trumpet weighing one pound, but this also was difficult for him, as his breath was failing from day to day. Accordingly he petitions that, in consideration of his good will to the commune and to *parte guelfa*, and of his efforts day and night to honor Florence with words when he has not been able to do so with deeds, “da calendi luglio proximo che viene in là Antonio Pucci s'intenda e sia solamente approvatore e non banditore.” The petition ends with a couplet which recalls the endings of some of Pucci's poems:

In quanto sia onesta la domanda  
Antonio Puccii vi si racomanda.

Favorable action was taken on June 13, 1369, by 177 votes to 9; on September 27 Pucci received his last stipend as *banditore*; there are records of his acting as *approvatore* for several weeks longer, but in December of the same year he definitely gave up his position as an official of the commune. It will be noticed that the dates given by Pucci in the petition are not borne out by the documents. If in 1369 he had been an official of the commune for thirty-five years, in stating which he is presumably accurate, he became bell-ringer in 1334, and eighteen years in that office brings us to 1352. There is record of him as bell-ringer in 1346, the records of the years immediately preceding not being found in the archives. But from February 27, 1349, on, there are records of him as *banditore* and *approvatore*. Thus his entrance upon public functions almost certainly took place in 1334, and his exit therefrom certainly in 1369, however the intervening years may have been divided



between his two offices.<sup>1</sup> In any case, he must have been town-crier for at least twenty years. According to Lazzeri, an attentive study of the archives would yield many dates and other details concerning his official acts year by year, including diplomatic missions to other Italian cities. But if such systematic study of the archives has been made, the results of it have not yet been published. It should certainly be undertaken by some qualified scholar having ready access to the Florentine libraries for the requisite length of time, as one of the numerous projects awaiting proper attention in connection with study of the life and works of Antonio Pucci and his milieu. The scope of the present chapter does not extend beyond the presentation of facts already shown in documents made available in the publications here cited, and the attempt to coordinate them to some extent with significant passages in Pucci's works.

After his retirement in 1369 we may assume that Pucci continued to cultivate his garden, both literally on his property in Via Ghibellina, and also figuratively by mingling with the populace and the ruling classes, ascertaining public opinion as to the events of the day, and expressing it in his rhymes. The so-called Kirkup manuscript, which contains exclusively poems by Pucci (though by no means all that he wrote), copied between 1370 and 1388, contains two poems dating from 1370 or later — a canzone addressed to the inhabitants of Lucca, and a list of the podestà of Florence.<sup>2</sup> The final canto (and perhaps more) of the *Centiloquio* was written, according to the different manuscripts that contain it, either in 1373 or in 1376. In the same period

1. In addition to the opuscolo by Morpurgo and the review of Ferri by Lazzeri, both of which are here freely drawn upon, see Ferri, pp. 6-8. The petition was mentioned in 1772 by Manni, *op. cit.* C. Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, Firenze, 1887, pp. lxxiv, 120, quotes a referendum of 1358 concerning the construction of the cathedral: "Dì 19 d'ottobre mandammo il bando per Antonio Pucci banditore, ecc."

2. See Morpurgo in *Bollettino delle pubblicazioni italiane*, No. 133, Gennaio, 1912.

were written some of the sonnets, and doubtless other poems which cannot be dated. The *Canzone della Vecchiezza*, if, as seems certain, it was the work of Pucci, can hardly have been composed earlier than 1380. In form a serventese with the scheme ABbC, CDdE, etc., in subject it may be compared to the *Noie*, since it enumerates all the annoyances connected with old age — those endured by an old man, as well as those inflicted by him on his family. This poem exists in nearly a score of manuscripts, and has never been properly studied; the text of two manuscripts has been published, in one of which the author says he is seventy-nine years of age, while in the other he says seventy-six; and it would certainly be worth while to make a study of all the manuscripts, if for no other purpose than to determine which statement is the original. It was printed in the *Poesie di Antonio Pucci* from a poor text (Riccard. 2971), in which it is anonymous; and in 1881 from the Cod. Marucelliano C. 152, in which it immediately follows the *Noie*, and has the following rubric: "Canço del detto anton pucci della uecchieça." <sup>1</sup> This is one of the most authoritative manuscripts of the *Noie*, in which Pucci's name is mentioned in rhyme in the final verses. The first stanza of the poem on old age reads as follows in Cod. Maruc. C. 152, f. 131r:

1. The editor of the *Poesie di A. P.* is not certain that the poem is by Pucci: see Vol. IV, p. x; text on pp. 293-96. Text of Cod. Maruc., our ms. C of the *Noie* (see below), published by C. Arlia, *Due Componimenti di Antonio Pucci*, cited above; reprinted therefrom by Ferri, p. 219. Arlia follows Maruc. C. 152, but not with absolute accuracy; he compared the text with that contained in two other Marucellian mss., C. 155 and C. 256. The index of Bilancioni says that the poem was printed in Siena in 1546, without author's name; and by Allacci in 1661 as by 'M. Antonio buffone': Bilancioni gives a list of fifteen mss., of which Laur. Red. 184 ascribes the poem to Arcangelo di Firenze, and all the others except Mar. C. 152 give it without name. It is in several other mss., of which Cod. Magliab. VII. 375 (our ms. M of the *Noie*) ascribes it to Pucci (see *Inventari*, XIII, 80-83); also in our mss. G and N.

Vecchiecça viene all'uom: quand'ella viene  
 Con ogni male e con ogni difetto,  
 E lla força e 'l diletto  
 Più l'un di che ll' altro li toglie.

Two stanzas suggest the sonnet in which Pucci expressed his grief over the conduct of his son:

Et con bugie piu cose si millanta,  
 Ed à per mal quando no gli è creduto:  
 Vedesi rincresciuto  
 Agli amici, a'parenti, e figliuoli.  
 E questi sono ismisurati duoli:  
 Veder che quelli ch'egli à generati,  
 Cresciuti ed allevati,  
 Perch'egli è vecchio se recan a noia.

It is hard to picture Pucci as suffering from all the indignities and infirmities that he enumerates, even after he had passed the canonical age of seventy: one thinks of him as a wiry little man of small physical strength and short of breath (as he implied in his petition), but full of vitality and a spirit of optimism, who could grow old gracefully, and at the same time, in his old age, satirize the weaknesses that come with the years. Toward the end of the poem he speaks of himself:

Queste cose vi dico, o gente antica,  
 E dimolt'altre: e quand'io mi specchio  
 E veggomi già vecchio,  
 Di tutte queste fortemente temo.  
 Perch'appressato mi veggio all'estremo:  
 I' ho degli anni già settantanove;  
 E con verace prove  
 Di tutte queste n'ho provate alquante.

In the other published text (*Poesie di A. P.*, p. 296) this last stanza reads as follows:

Perch'io mi veggio appressare allo stremo,  
 Ch'i'ho degli anni già settantasei.  
 E più, ch'io non vorrei,  
 Di queste pene mi sento davante.

Then the old man testifies to the goodness of his wife and family:

E dovend'io provarle tutte quante  
Io chiederei la morte a Dio di grazia,  
Ch'io so come si strazia  
L'uom ch'à perduta ongni sua possanza.

Mad in tre cose fermo la speranza:  
L'una, che spero grazia aver da Dio;  
L'altro, ch'il padre mio  
Da me abbandonato non fu mai;

L'ultima è ch'io mi contento assai  
Della me' donna e della mia famiglia;  
E sare' meraviglia,  
Poi ch'e' son buon, che mi facesson male.

The poem then ends with a characteristic expression of piety. That Pucci was a man of sincere if not profound religious feeling is made plain not only by several *laudi* ascribed to him,<sup>1</sup> but also by the portion of the *Noie* dealing with irreverence in church, and by the invocations to God, the Virgin, the Saints, etc., with which he customarily begins his capitoli and serventesi. This custom would not in itself prove that he was a religious man, for it was more or less conventional; but Pucci seems to put into his invocations a sincerity that can hardly be assumed. Similar

1. Cod. Riccard. 1294 contains three *laudi* with Pucci's name, of which two are published by Volpi, *Rime di Trecentisti minori*, pp. 112-16; these are reprinted by Ferri, pp. 224-28, with the third, p. 153 (Ferri here gives the wrong number to the ms.). One of these compositions, *O gloriosa e santa povertade*, praises poverty as the bride of St. Francis, and includes the author's name as "Antonio di Puccio"; our poet here says that when he had fine food and good wine his appetite failed, but now he would gladly eat acorns and drink water, accepting poverty "per donna, Di me vita e colonna." The same ms. gives anonymous sonnets paraphrasing the Pater Noster and the Commandments, which have been tentatively ascribed to Pucci; and a sonnet bearing his name, which condemns a friar for his luxury Ferri, pp. 291-300. — Two of the *laudi*, with fragments of others, are contained in Cod. Marciano It. II. 74 and there ascribed to Pucci (see Frati e Segarizzi, *Catalogo dei Cod. Marc.*, Vol. I, p. 244).



sentiments crop up continually in his poems, together with a longing for peace, as in the first stanza of *cantare iv* of the *Guerra Pisana* (*Poesie di A. P.*, IV, p. 222):

O Signor mio, ch'agli Apostoli tuoi  
 Sempre dicesti: Tra voi sia la pace;  
 Umilmente ti prego, che tra noi  
 In Toscana la mandi, se ti piace,  
 E'nfinch'ella non spande i raggi suoi,  
 Donami grazia, Salvator verace,  
 Ch'i'seguiti le rime, a pregio, e fama  
 Della Città del Fiore, e di chi l'ama.

The same desire for peace is shown in a sonnet beginning :

Pace per Dio, nè mai altro che pace,  
 Pace, che per Firenze non fa guerra...<sup>1</sup>

There seems, however, to be no basis for the statement sometimes made, that after a certain period Pucci became pious, abandoned worldly poetry and devoted himself to religion. Only a few of his poems can be dated even approximately; but in some of those which are certainly early, as the *serventese* on the flood of 1333 and others in the Kirkup manuscript concerning events of 1337, 1342, etc., we find the same pious invocations as in the *Canzone della Vecchiezza*, while in the latter the same realistic (not to say vulgar) touches are present as in some of the earlier productions (not, of course, in the purely historical poems). It does not seem that Pucci's mildly humorous, sometimes ironical style was peculiar to any one period of his life.

On the other hand, it is probably true that the bulk of his amorous poetry belongs to his early life, say before his becoming *approvatore*. This portion of his work, however, is of slight importance compared to the political, historical, satirical and didactic poems; it includes, nevertheless,

1. Ferri, p. 202, reads in second verse *Fiorenza*; but Cod. Chigiano L. iv. 131, p. 729, reads as above. The sonnet is an example of word-repetition, for every verse begins with *pace*.

several productions that are of interest as showing one side of his activity, although inferior poetically to other love-poetry of the period. Of particular interest is the serventese, or (to use the term regularly used by Pucci himself) *sermintese*, which he wrote "per ricordo de le bele done ch'erano in Firenze nel MCCCXXXV," beginning:

Leggiadro Sermintese, pien d'amore,  
 Nomando va per la città del fiore  
 Tutte le donne più degne d'onore  
 In tal maniera.

This poem, preserved in the Kirkup manuscript, was published by D'Ancona in his edition of Dante's *Vita Nuova* in order to suggest what Dante's lost serventese on the same subject may have been like.<sup>1</sup> While showing interest in the fair sex, it is not love-poetry, but examples are not wanting in Pucci's sonnets; in particular we may cite a *contrasto* consisting of nineteen sonnets, in which the poet makes the sonnet the messenger between himself and the lady, and the lady replies in the same way by addressing the sonnet. The poet by his pleading overcomes the scruples of Madonna, and with extremely realistic details the

1. Republished by d'Ancona in his *Scritti danteschi*, Firenze, 1912, pp. 283-88; Ferri, p. 255. Dante says, *Vita Nuova*, vi: "E presi li nomi di sessanta le più belle donne de la cittade ove la mia donna fue posta da l'altissimo sire, e compuosi una pistola sotto forma di serventese..." D'Ancona supposes that Pucci's poem may have been *calcato su quello smarrito di Dante*; but if the latter was known in 1335, there would be a good chance of its being preserved until today. In fact, this type of composition, with a list of ladies' names, was known in Provençal and Italian. Boccaccio composed in 1342 a serventese or *capitolo* in terza rima, beginning *Contento quasi ne' pensier d'amore*, in which he praises twelve fair ladies by name, some of them the same as those mentioned by Pucci; and Massera imagines that there is in Boccaccio's poem an allusion to Pucci's: see Massera, No. lxix, and notes in his *editio minor*, Torino, 1914, pp. 101-05; also his article *Il serventese boccaccesco delle belle donne*, in the commemorative volume *Studi su Giovanni Boccaccio*, Società Storica della Valdelsa, Castelfiorentino, 1913, pp. 55-67.

episode ends satisfactorily for all concerned.<sup>1</sup> The action of the little drama recalls the famous *Rosa fresca aulentissima* of the thirteenth century. Several other strictly love-sonnets are doubtfully ascribed to Pucci, and a number which relate more or less scandalous and licentious anecdotes are probably his; here, as in passages in his chivalric romances, he does not hesitate to call a spade a spade and to speak with the freedom that readers of medieval literature are accustomed to; but he does it in a matter-of-fact way, without dwelling unduly on unsavory details or appearing to take particular satisfaction in them. Even in his occasional lapses from what we see fit to call good taste, he keeps within bounds of decency better than writers like Burchiello and Berni, with whom he is sometimes compared.

In this connection one poem deserves special mention, the serventese (in the same metre as the *Canzone della Vecchiezza*) which enumerates the beauties and virtues of his lady, beginning:

Quella di cui i' son veracemente  
In sè ha tutte quante le bellezze  
E le piacevolezze  
Che debbe avere in sè la bella donna.<sup>2</sup>

1. Published from Cod. Riccard. 1103, ff. 153r-158v, by D'Ancona, "XIX Sonetti inediti di Antonio Pucci," in *Propugnatore*, XI, II, pp. 105-25; reprinted, with wrong folio-numbers, by Ferri, pp. 157-66. D'Ancona speaks of the quaint but natural form of the composition, and adds: "Era passata l'età della purissima, ma quasi interamente soggettiva poesia di Dante e di Petrarca: e il rapsodo plebeo che accordava la rozza sua lira ai sensi, anzi agli istinti della cittadinanza fiorentina, non poteva alzarsi alle idealità platoniche dell'arte."

2. Published by Wellesley, *Canzone in lode di bella donna*, Oxford, 1851; by Arcangeli, Prato, 1852; by Carducci, *Rime di M. Cino da Pistoia e d'altri del secolo XIV*, Firenze, 1862, p. 445 (and 1928, p. 456); by Ferri, p. 214. Ascribed to Pucci in Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, f. 47; to Giovanni de' Ricci in Cod. Riccard. 1091, f. 155; anonymous in Cod. Riccard. 2823 (cf. Wesselofsky, *Il paradiso degli Alberti*, Bologna, 1867, I, 1, p. 254); in Cod. Riccard. 1185, f. 2, part of it is combined with Pucci's *Proprietà di Mercato Vecchio*

The description is far more detailed than was customary with earlier poets, but is respectful and restrained; in some places it recalls the lyrics of the *dolce stil nuovo*, as when Pucci speaks of the lady's mouth:

Ed ha sì bella e piacevole bocca  
 Che par, quand'ella l'apre ad un sorriso,  
 Che s'apra il paradiso,  
 Co' labbri vermiglietti e rispondenti;

and of her bearing when she walks along the street:

E volend'io pienamente trattare  
 Del suo gentil parlare  
 E d'ogni suo adorno e bel costume,  
 Troppo sarebbe lungo il mio volume.  
 Ma pur dirò che' costumi di Francia  
 Tutti sono una ciancia  
 A petto a que' di questa donna vaga;  
 De' qua' chi l'ode o chi la vede appaga.  
 E quando va per la via cogli occhi bassi,  
 E misurati passi,  
 D'ogni parte a vederla gente corre.

One of Pucci's sonnets (Cod. Magl. VII. 1145; Ferri, p. 122),

Ascolti ogniun che vuole inamorare,

contains sage advice for lovers (just as in various other sonnets he lays down precepts for conduct, especially of the young); for instance:

I be' costumi e ll'onesto parlare  
 Convien che regni in ogni amoroso,  
 E sopra tutto non esser linguoso,  
 Chè savio è quel che puote amor celare.

In all, Pucci has left well over one hundred sonnets, the great majority of them *caudati*; they are scattered through

as if belonging to it (our ms. O of the *Noie*; see description below). Arcangeli and Carducci add a second poem with the same metre, which seems to be a reworking of the above; it begins: "L'alta virtù di quel collegio santo."



many manuscripts, in some cases ascribed to various poets; and without doubt many sonnets and other pieces have been wrongly put under his name. As in the case of his romantic poems, compilers of manuscripts and modern editors alike have tended to assign to him numerous anonymous compositions which seemed to be in his style, and no comprehensive study of the subject has yet been made. Considerable material for such a study is available in print, but it would be necessary to investigate thoroughly such manuscripts as Magliab. VII. 1145, VII. 1168, VII. 375; Laur. Red. 184; Laur. SS. Annun. 122; Riccard. 1103; Chigi L. IV. 131, and many others containing occasional sonnets, before satisfactory conclusions could be hoped for. One result of such an investigation would certainly be the ascription to Pucci of some works now regarded as of uncertain authorship, and the ascription to others of some now regarded as his. It is evident that some of his most characteristic writing was in the form of sonnets, including those on amorous, didactic, political, satirical, humorous, or personal subjects. In a well known one,

Deh, fammi una canzon, fammi un sonetto,<sup>1</sup>

he complains that people are continually begging him to write a poem, not realizing how much labor it involves, not offering to furnish the writing-materials, and thinking they have overpaid him if they reward him with an invitation to take a drink. He does not say that these remarks apply to the request of "un fiol de un chavalero podestà in Fiorenza," in complying with which he wrote a corona of twelve sonnets on the art of poetry, of which the first one begins:<sup>2</sup>

1. *Poesie di A. P.*, IV, 290; Carducci, *Rime di M. Cino*, 1928, p. 467; Ferri, p. 184, etc. Contained with Pucci's name in four of the mss. just mentioned.

2. Published from a ms. at Udine by D'Ancona, *L'Arte del dire in rima*, in *Miscellanea Caix-Canello* and separately, Firenze, 1886; reprinted with D'Ancona's notes by Ferri, pp. 167-75.

Ben che non sia maestro di trovare,  
 Po' che tu mi preghi che t'insegni,  
 Mostrar ti voglio mie' piccol ingegni,  
 Onde talor parole so rimare.

This expression of modesty in regard to his own poetic gifts is characteristic and undoubtedly sincere; Pucci knew his limitations, as is natural in one who studied and venerated Dante. Canto LV of the *Centiloquio*, as is well known, is devoted to Dante, and is greatly expanded from the concise statement of Villani; <sup>1</sup> Pucci recognizes the difficulty of writing adequately in honor of the great poet; the rhymes that usually give him no trouble are now hard to manage:

Le rime son diventate ritrose  
 Ch'aver le soglio con agevolezza;

of popes and emperors he has written "senza curarmi del mio grosso ingegno"; but he will do his best:

Bench'io sia tra' dicitor più vile  
 Che non sarebbe tra' datterì il pruno,  
 Dirò com'io saprò, ma non sottile.

In the serventese on the flood of 1333 he remarks "ch'io non stetti ma' a Bologna ne lo Studio," and numerous similar expressions could be quoted from his works, showing that he recognized himself for what he was — a man of the people, sharing the interests and the ideals of the people rather than of the more highly educated classes, and yet better informed, more wide-awake and more intelligent than the general run of those of his class; and above all possessed of a fertile and facile gift of rhyming in easy,

1. This canto, like xci, occurs separately in some mss. See *Poesie di A. P.*, III, p. 111; D'Ancona, *In Lode di Dante, capitolo e sonetto di Antonio Pucci*, Pisa, 1868; V. Imbriani, *Illustrazioni al Capitolo dantesco del Centiloquio*, Napoli, 1880; D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, I, 546.

fluent verses whatever came to his hand. His admiration for Dante has often been remarked upon, and in his verse reminiscences of Dante may be found; his great countryman is the author most frequently mentioned in his *Zibaldone*. Thus it is evident that he not only kept in touch with the events of the day and with public opinion, but that he was a great reader as well. He is perhaps the very best representative of what has been called by Carducci, D'Ancona and others "la poesia borghese," a type of poetry that had great vogue in Florence in the fourteenth century, but of which traces are found already in the thirteenth, while it prolonged its life into and beyond the fifteenth.

The sonnets that form so important but hitherto so inadequately studied a portion of Pucci's writings, together with a few other lyrics, undoubtedly passed from hand to hand and at times were read or recited for the entertainment or instruction of groups of hearers; and the larger part of the sonnets have the coda of three verses (a *settenario* rhyming with the fourteenth verse, followed by two *endecasillabi* rhyming together) which is characteristic of the popular or burlesque style of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The prevalence of the coda, as well as the choice of subjects and the style, distinguish Pucci's sonnets from those of poets like Petrarca. Nevertheless, like the more cultivated poets, he found the sonnet-form, in its conciseness and its prescribed number of verses, well adapted to express a mood, an incident, a picture, or a moral precept. In one sense, the sonnets may be said to represent the more literary side of his work, in comparison with the poems composed specifically for public recitation by *cantastorie*. These latter poems include narratives, both historical and fictitious; descriptions; laments for some public calamity; and occasional compositions like the *Contrasto delle Donne*, the poem in praise of his lady, and the *Noie*. All the political serventesi, of which the "laments"

form a special class, that can be assigned with certainty to Pucci are found in the Kirkup manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The metrical forms employed are the terza rima of Dante, the ottava rima of Boccaccio (both adapted to poems of considerable length), the canzone, and the serventese or sermintese. The Italian serventese owes to the Provençal *sirventes* little more than the name, and includes not only historical, political and satiric pieces as in Provençal, but also love-poems.<sup>2</sup> The commonest form is that of stanzas of three endecasillabi rhyming together and followed by a fourth verse of four or five syllables which rhymes with the endecasillabi of the following stanza: AAAb, BBBc, CCCd, etc. This form was used in the thirteenth century in the *Dottrina dello Schiavo di Bari* (discussed in later chapters), in the historical *Serventese delle Guerre tra Lambertazzi e Geremei* (Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 406), and in a few other poems; it becomes common in the next century. It seems to have developed from the stanza-form in which three verses rhyming together are followed by a shorter verse with an identical rhyme for all stanzas, like a ritornello: AAAx,

1. See list in Morpurgo's description of this ms.; and, for the editions, our Bibliography. Many "laments" have been published by A. Medin, *Lamenti de' secoli XIV e XV*, Firenze, 1883, including (p. 13) *Serventese della morte di Carlo Duca figliol del re Uberto di Napoli* which is anonymous in Cod. Magliab. VII. 375 and is thought by Medin to be work of Pucci. "Re Uberto" is of course King Robert. See also *Lamenti storici dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI, raccolti di A. Medin e L. Frati*, 3 Vols., Bologna, 1887-90 (*Scelta* CCXIX, CCXXVI, CCXXXVI); two of Pucci's serventesi included, I, pp. 7, 23. Cf. D'Ancona, *La Poesia politica italiana ai tempi di Lodovico il Bavaro, in Propugnatore*, I (1868), 145-70; Morpurgo in *RivCLI*, IV, 161 ff.

2. See F. Flamini, *Notizia storica dei versi e metri italiani*, Livorno, 1919, pp. 32-38. For the origin of the name, cf. Pio Rajna, "Un serventese contro Roma ed un canto alla Vergine," in *GFR*, I, 84-91, II, 73-74. A canzone of 12-verse stanzas by Lunardo or Leonardo del Guallaca di Pisa, an invective against love and women, calls itself "serventese": see Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, p. 198. For further references see F. Pellegrini in *GSLI*, XXII, 395-407, and G. Vandelli in *RBLI*, II, 11-16 (reviews of a book by Pini on the serventese).



BBBx, CCCx, etc.: for the purpose of memorizing, the linking of stanzas by rhyme offers obvious advantages. Another serventese form was developed later, in which the short verse has seven syllables and comes third in the stanza, thus: ABbC, CDdE, EFfG, etc.; in this case the poem ends with three verses: one repeating the rhyme of the previous stanza, and a couplet, XYY. On the former scheme Pucci wrote his *sermintese* on the fair ladies of Florence, that on the flood of 1333, that on the plague of 1348, and four or five on political events—these all contained in the Kirkup manuscript. On the second scheme he wrote the poem on old age, and that in praise of his lady's beauty, cited above; these are not in the Kirkup manuscript.

From the serventese of four-verse stanzas, or *capitolo quadernario*, Dante probably developed the *capitolo ternario* or terza rima in which he composed the *Divina Commedia*. This metre also is adapted to memorizing, since each *terzina* is connected by rhyme with the following one: ABA, BCB, CDC, etc.; at the end of the *capitolo* or *canto* an extra verse being added to the last *terzina*. The omission of the shorter verse of the serventese perhaps gives added dignity to this metre: and the use of the number three as a basis—each rhyme, except at beginning and end, occurring three times, and the verses being arranged in groups of three—undoubtedly seemed to Dante symbolically important, although we may assume that his criterion was primarily artistic.<sup>1</sup> In the fourteenth century not only poems more or less influenced by the *Divina Commedia*, but chronicles, laments, enumerations, etc., were written in this metre. In it Pucci composed his versification of the *Cronica* of Giovanni Villani, of which the final *canto* (xci) gives a description of Florence; the *Proprietà di Mercato Vecchio*; and the *Noie*. Each *canto* of the *Centiloquio* has 100 *terzine*

1. See Flamini, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-98; B. Croce, *La Poesia di Dante*, Bari, 1921, p. 164; B. I. Gilman, "Dante's choice of the terza rima," in *Romanic Review*, XX (1929), 326-30.

or 301 verses, in all, 27,391 verses; the *Mercato Vecchio* with 75 *terzine* and the *Noie* with 105 raise to 27,933 the total number of verses in *terza rima* written by Pucci, nearly twice as many as in the *Divina Commedia*. The use of this metrical form for so large a part of his work, and his purpose, declared in a prose preface to the *Centiloquio*, to extend this poem to one hundred cantos (hence the name), may well be due to his veneration for Dante. He originally intended, he says, to write twenty-three cantos, corresponding to the letters of the Latin alphabet; but the rhymes came so easily that as a pastime he continued, and in the initial letters of the several cantos he hid his name. In fact, the initials of the ninety-one cantos form an acrostic as follows: <sup>1</sup>

ABCDEF GHIKLMNOPQRSTVXYZ

Antonio Pucci fiorentin fe' tonica  
De le sve rime a la presente cronica  
Deo gratias.

While in the *Centiloquio* Pucci frequently speaks in the first person (as in XLIX, *terzina* 100: *Ma, come dissi, scrivo a mio diletto*), he does not give his name elsewhere than in this acrostic. That the poem was intended both for read-

1. See *Poesie di A. P.*, I, pp. xcix-cxii, and the opening and closing *terzine* of various cantos, especially xxii, xxiii, xxiv. In several cases the initial letters or the numbers of cantos are referred to in the text. The word standing for H is *onorevolmente*; for K, *kalen di agosto*; for X, *Xpo*; for Y, *Ydoneo*; see *Poesie*, I, pp. 97, 121, 246, 258, etc. The word for Z is *zucchero* and for alphabet, *abbicci*, as in the *Favola del Leone e del Topo* in Cod. Magl. VII. 375 and Cod. Riccard. 2873: see McKenzie, "Italian Fables in Verse," in *PMLA*, XXI, p. 257, and *Note sulle antiche favole italiane*, extract from *Miscellanea in onore di V. Crescini*, Cividale del Friuli, 1910; the fables published in these articles are mostly anonymous, but have been ascribed by some writers to Antonio Pucci, in connection with whose known writings they occur in the mss.; they are in *terza rima* and in *sonetti caudati*. For similar uses of the alphabet, cf. F. Novati, "Le serie alfabetiche proverbiali e gli alfabeti disposti nella letteratura italiana de' primi tre secoli," in *GSLI*, XV (1890), 337-401 (continued in Vols. XVIII, LIV, LV).

ing and for recitation is shown by mention of readers and hearers ; for instance,

Per diletta chi legge e chi ascolta (III, terz. 98) ;  
acciocchè non rincresca  
Leggere a te, ed udire a chi ascolta (LI, terz. 100).

*Uditori* are mentioned (II, 52; III, 100, etc.), but more frequently the reader, as :

Lettor, s'i' parlo breve non ti spiaccia  
(XLVII, 100; cf. XVII, 100; XXI, 98; XC, 100, etc.).

The primary purpose in this case seems to have been to furnish a poetical version for reading. The sonnet which in one manuscript follows the last canto begins "Savio lettore" (*Poesie*, IV, p. 187). Other capitoli, however, end with the formula that was usual in poems composed for recitation; thus the *Proprietà di Mercato Vecchio* ends:

Al vostro onor finita è la leggenda,

and the *Noie*, in the best manuscripts, includes Pucci's name in rhyme in the concluding *terzina*. So also the *Guerra Pisana*, next to the *Centiloquio* the longest of Pucci's poems, has in the last verse of each of the seven cantari the words "al vostro onore"; the end of the first cantare being:

Antonio Pucci il fe al vostro onore (*Poesie*, IV, p. 200), while in other endings the name is not given. This poem, like the *Contrasto delle Donne*, is in ottava rima; and in this same metre are composed many romantic poems of the fourteenth century, including five known to be by Pucci. The style and the subject-matter are so similar and so impersonal in poems of this type from the early fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth that some or all of the others (as *La Donna del Vergiù*, *Il Bel Gherardino*, *Carduino*, etc.) have been assigned to him, but without proof; in

four of these five his name is inserted at the end as a mark of authorship, and four of them are contained in whole or in part in the now mutilated Kirkup manuscript, ms. A.

Of these romantic poems the best known is *La Reina d'Oriente*, in four cantari; it tells the story of a queen who had her daughter brought up as a boy and "married" to another woman; when the fraud is about to be discovered, the princess is changed by magic into a man. The beginning is lacking in A, but the text is found in other manuscripts (including our ms. K). Many popular editions were printed from 1483 and 1485 until recently, and a poorly edited text is included in *Scelta*, XLI. Fortunately we now have a critical edition by Ezio Levi,<sup>1</sup> based on four manuscripts, with bibliographical information. According to Levi, it was probably the last of Pucci's poems of this type, and written about 1380. The second poem in A, *Bruto di Brettagna*, is apparently unfinished after 46 stanzas. It is found in no other manuscript, and was first published by Ezio Levi in 1914.<sup>2</sup> The subject was derived from the *De Amore* of Andrea Cappellano; this work, written in Latin about 1200, was available in French and Italian translations, and was frequently cited by Pucci and by others as *lo Gualtieri*. The second stanza of Pucci's text begins:

Leggendo un giorno del tempo passato  
Un libro che mi par degli altri il fiore,  
Trovai ch'un cavalier innamorato  
Fe' molte belle cose per amore...

1. *Fiore di Leggende*, Bari, 1914, pp. 231-84, 364-78; see also E. Levi, "I Cantari leggendari," in *GSLI*, Suppl. 16 (1914), pp. 121-40; Wesselofsky, "Le Tradizioni popolari nei poemi di Antonio Pucci," in *Ateneo Italiano*, I (1866), 224-29; Wesselofsky, *Novella della figlia del re di Dacia*, Pisa, 1866, pp. LXVI-LXXXIX; and Zambini, *Le Opere volgari a stampa*. This poem is mentioned in *La Sala di Malagigi*, a poem ascribed to Pucci by P. Rajna, who published it from Cod. Ricc. 1091, *per nozze D'Ancona-Nissim*, Imola, 1871 (it is also in Cod. Ricc. 2816; see Levi, *Cantari*, p. 37).

2. *Fiore*, pp. 201-12, 362; *Cantari*, pp. 101-13. On Andrea, see P. Rajna in *SFR*, V (1891), 194-265.



Bruto is commissioned by his lady to bring from King Arthur's court a noble hawk, two dogs, and "la carta de le regole d'amore"; and with the aid of a damigella whom he meets on the way, he accomplishes the task. The third poem in A is *Apollonio di Tiro*, mutilated by the loss of several leaves, but found in other manuscripts. It was printed in 1486, and reprinted frequently until the eighteenth century; there is no recent edition, but one is promised by Ezio Levi in a second series of *cantari legendari*. Of the fourth poem, *Madonna Lionessa*, only the last four stanzas are preserved in A, the final verse being: "Antonio Puci il fiece al vostro onore"; but from Cod. Riccardiano 2873, in which Pucci's name is not given, the complete text was published by Gargioli in 1866, and republished by Ezio Levi in 1914.<sup>1</sup> The story is similar to that on which the *Merchant of Venice* is based. The fifth poem of this group, *Gismirante*, is found only in Cod. Riccardiano 2873, the interesting and important manuscript already mentioned, from which it was published in 1853 and 1914;<sup>2</sup> it is divided into two cantari, of which the second ends: "Al vostro onor questo fe' Antonio Pucci." It is worthy of note that the first stanza, containing the usual invocation, is identical with the first stanza of *Bruto di Brettagna*. The extremely fanciful story is based in part on the "grateful animals" motif, and in part it suggests the legend of Lady Godiva of Coventry. This completes the list of *cantari legendari* which can be with assurance ascribed to Pucci.

These cantari differ from most of Pucci's other writings in their impersonal style, entirely devoid of references to contemporary life or historical events; they differ from some

1. *Scelta*, LXXXIX; *Fiore*, pp. 213-27, 362; *Cantari*, pp. 114-21. The text of A was mentioned by d'Ancona, *In lode di Dante*, 1868, p. xiii, and published by M. H. Jackson in *Romania*, XXXIX, 322-23. On the Cod. Ricc., cf. references in note above; and Pio Rajna, *I Cantari di Carduino*, 1873 (*Scelta*, CXXXV).

2. F. Corazzini, *Miscellanea di cose inedite o rare*, Firenze, 1853, pp. 275-306; Levi, *Fiore*, pp. 171-98, 360; *Cantari*, pp. 92-100.

of his other poems which were likewise intended for public recitation in being simply entertaining yarns, without moral or didactic purpose. If for these stories he had definite written sources, it is evident that he used them with considerable freedom, rearranging his material and allowing his fancy a free rein, almost as if he were improvising.

Similar to the cantari in subject-matter, but very different in form and style (although probably intended for recitation), is a canzone of six 13-verse stanzas and *comiato*, rhyming ABbC, ABbC, CDdEE. In Cod. Vaticano 3212, f. 181, from which it was published in 1852, it is ascribed to Pucci, and begins: "Un gentiluom di Roma una fiata." It is generally accepted as Pucci's, although in Cod. Riccardiano 1056, f. 125, it is ascribed to Nicholò Povero, and begins: "Un cavalier di Roma una fiata."<sup>1</sup> In both manuscripts it is called *canzon morale*. It tells an amusing story which suggests a lesson in manners: a man is master in his own house, and guests should not dispute his right to do as he pleases. A "gentleman from Rome" spends the night in a certain castle, although he knows that all who do so are soundly beaten before their departure. He, however, after being treated with extraordinary hospitality, is sent on his way with kind words; and on expressing surprise, he is told that it is because he is the first guest who has accepted without question whatever the host proposed to him. In one sense this tale may be called an application of the principle of the *Noie*: we can imagine a host who is particularly annoyed when guests question his proposals, and who punishes such lack of courtesy. The romances of the Round Table abound in "tests", in which guests who fail to meet the test, even if unaware that they are being tested, are punished according to the "custom of the castle." The special form of test found in our can-

1. See Ezio Levi, "Le paneruzzole di Niccolò Povero," already cited, in his *Poesia di popolo e poesia di corte*, p. 77 ff. For further bibliographical references, see below.

zone — obedience to one's host — was very common. Well-known versions are the English *Carl of Carlisle* and the Old French *Chevalier à l'épée*. Wesselofsky and Rajna believed that the Italian canzone came either directly from the *Chevalier à l'épée* (which is hardly possible), or from a common source in French; the test of obedience is the same, but the details differ, and in the French poem the hero's name is given, Gauvain. In 1877 (see next page, note 1) Rajna published from Cod. Panciatichiano 74 another redaction of the same story — an anonymous canzone in the identical metrical form but entirely different in wording, beginning:

Al tempo de la Tavola Ritonda  
 Si ritrovò il buon messer Chavano  
 In paese sì strano  
 Che no v'avea da mangiar nè da bere...

Since this canzone definitely mentions the Round Table and Sir Gawain (usually Galvano in Italian), it obviously represents an earlier form of the story than the other, where the hero is "a gentleman from Rome." Rajna maintains that in all probability Pucci wrote the two canzoni: in the earlier one following his source rather closely; and in the second making the characters Italian and omitting all elements indicating Arthurian influence, but nevertheless including some details from the source that were not included in the earlier version. <sup>1</sup> This conclusion is not accepted by G. L. Kittredge, who has devoted to a comprehensive discussion of the subject many pages of his study of Gawain; he believes that the two canzoni cannot be by the same author, since the later one contains some primitive elements not found in the earlier; and he suggests

1. In a letter dated April 5, 1928, Senator Rajna tells me that the argument as to the two "canzoni gemelle" being the work of one author still seems to him to hold its force. How many scholars can say the same in regard to their theories, after an interval of half a century?

that, being mere anecdotes intended to enforce a lesson in manners, without the element of magic found in French versions (and found, it may be added, in Pucci's cantari), they were very likely derived from a Latin exemplum that was in turn derived from the ultimate French source of the *Carl of Carlisle* and the *Chevalier à l'épée* — some romance of which Gawain was the hero. Kittredge prints from a manuscript (Harleian 3938) written in Italy, the text of an unpublished Latin exemplum which could not have been Pucci's source, but may well resemble it. Kittredge's conclusions are accepted by A. H. Krappe; but in reply to Krappe it is pointed out by L. Di Francia that they constitute simply another theory, no more susceptible of proof than that of Rajna. The mutual relations of these variations, including Pucci's, on the "test" theme of obedience to the host are of very great interest to students of medieval romance.<sup>1</sup> It may be added that in his cantari Pucci does

1. The canzone "Un gentiluom di Roma una fiata" was first published in *L'Etruria, Studj di filologia di letteratura di pubblica istruzione e di belle arti*, II (1852), 124-27, from a copy made by A. Mortara of the text in Cod. Vat. 3212; it was reprinted by Carducci, *Rime di M. Cino da Pistoia e d'altri del secolo XIV*, Firenze, 1862, pp. 460-63 (1928 ed., pp. 471-74); by A. Wesselofsky, "Un capitolo d'Antonio Pucci" in *RFR*, II (1875), 221; by G. Lumbroso, *Memorie italiane del buon tempo antico*, Torino, 1889, p. 112; and by Ferri, p. 217. See also E. Levi, *Niccolò Povero*, cited above. The canzone "Al tempo de la Tavola Ritonda" was published by Pio Rajna, "Intorno a due canzoni gemelle di materia cavalleresca" in *ZRP*, II (1877), 381-87. Wesselofsky and Rajna were followed by G. Paris in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXX, 67-68, in believing that Pucci's canzone was derived from the *Chevalier à l'épée*, which had been printed by Méon (1823), Le Grand d'Aussy (1829), and Jonckbloet (1848); cf. also *Hist. litt.*, XIX, 704; but in reviewing the critical edition by E. C. Armstrong, *Le Chevalier à l'épée, an Old French poem*, Baltimore, 1900, G. Paris (*Romania*, XXIX, 593-600) declared that direct derivation was impossible, and suggested that the common source was a Breton lai. The most comprehensive discussion of these and other versions of the "test" theme is by G. L. Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916, pp. 76-106, 302-04. A. H. Krappe, "Appunti sul 'Castellano nemico delle contraddizioni' di Antonio Pucci" in *GSLI*, XCIV (1929), 205-11, cites Letterio Di Francia, *La Novellistica*, I, 550, calls attention



not use many Arthurian names or incidents, although King Arthur's court is a feature of *Gismirante* and *Brulo di Bretagna*.<sup>1</sup>

Antonio Pucci's work as a whole — didactic, historical and romantic — affords a characteristic example of the poetry properly called "popular" because, as D'Ancona says, it was written for the people by a man of the people, and because it expresses the ideals and feelings of the people.<sup>2</sup> Just as the Troubadours and other courtly poets formed the delight of aristocratic circles in Provence and in Italy, so the performances of wandering minstrels, jongleurs and acrobats entertained the populace in the street. So numerous were these popular entertainers that in various Italian cities strict regulation of the time and place of their performances became necessary; and, according to one writer, it even appears that they sang their songs in heaven:

Li non mancha al iusto avere ne signoria,  
Donzelli adorni e presti, e zoyè e zuliaria;  
Zulieri che stano denanze si fano la festa sì compia;  
Quen dolzi versi elli fano cuntare non se poria.<sup>3</sup>

to the discussion by Kittredge, and reprints from Kittredge (p. 96) the Latin exemplum mentioned above; in a *Postilla* to Krappe's article, Di Francia points out several inaccuracies, insists that the relations of the versions are still in doubt, and finally mentions that Pucci's *canzone* is not a *poema* or a *cantare* as Krappe calls it, nor a *capitolo* as Wesselofsky calls it. For further references, see Armstrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-69, and Kittredge, *l. c.* The *Carl of Carlisle* was printed by F. Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, London, 1839.

1. Cf. E. G. Gardner, *The Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature*, London, 1930, chap. XII.

2. See the essay by D'Ancona already cited, *Una Poesia e una prosa di Antonio Pucci*, in his *Saggi di letteratura popolare*, p. 344. Other discussions of this aspect of Pucci's work are found in D'Ancona, *La Poesia popolare italiana*, Livorno, 1906, pp. 47-52; Levi, *I Cantari leggendari*; Volpi, *Il Trecento*; R. Fornaciari, "Il poemetto popolare italiano e Antonio Pucci," in *Nuova Antologia*, XXXI (1876), 5-27; D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. Becke, London, 1895, pp. 291, 334, 347.

3. Bonvesin da Riva, *Il libro delle tre Scritture*, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis, Società Filologica Romana, 1901, verses 1605-08.

In Florence the regular place for these open-air entertainments was the Piazza S. Martino, and there the crowd gathered every evening to listen to the singers — cantatori, cantori, canterini, giullari, cantastorie, as they were variously called. Some of these performers composed the songs and poems which they intoned to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument; but the majority derived their material from reading or hearing the work of others. As they passed it on while wandering from place to place, this material was extensively modified even when written, and still more so when the transmission was oral. Innumerable romantic tales from all sources, but particularly of French origin, became familiar in Italian versions in ottava rima. Each poem or section of a poem — called *cantare* — was of convenient length for reciting in public, the units averaging 40 to 50 stanzas. These cantari were the forerunners of the much longer epics of cultivated literary artists like Pulci, Boiardo and Ariosto; but they were in most cases anonymous, even though some of them had been composed by well-known individuals like Antonio Pucci. We have seen already that Pucci took pains to insert his name in several of his poems; and yet in some manuscripts not only is the text corrupted, but all trace of his name has disappeared. The number of cases in which his name is preserved has led some scholars to ascribe to him various anonymous cantari, serventesi and sonnets; but we must remember that in his day there were other popular poets whose style resembles his and whose names are not known to us. This interesting branch of Italian literature has not yet been sufficiently studied.

Many of Pucci's poems, as we have seen, were composed not for reading and study, but for recitation in public: the cantari on legendary subjects and probably those on the War with Pisa; the serventesi and other short historical and political poems; probably the *Noie* and other *capi-coli*; and perhaps some of the sonnets and other miscella-

neous poems. The question then arises, whether he sang or recited his own verses, or entrusted them to professional singers; and no documentary evidence on this point has come to light. We must remember, however, that in the fourteenth century the government of Florence was democratic, the ancient aristocratic families being expressly excluded from positions of power; hence there was a general feeling of social equality. The street-singers were no longer necessarily homeless vagabonds. As Pio Rajna puts it:

Nella Toscana... il mestiere di cantastorie si è appartato affatto da quello del giocoliere. Dall'albero d'un tempo s'è tolto un ramo, che è diventato pianta esso stesso. E cotesti cantambanchi, cantastorie, cantafavole, non pajon esser più quella genia perpetualmente girovaga, ch'erano i loro antenati. Si trasporteranno bene talora dall'una nell'altra città; non mancheranno di accorrere a questa fiera, a quella festa; ma poi, chiusa la stagione, se ne ritorneranno a casa loro. Hanno una casa: è detto tutto.<sup>1</sup>

It is not difficult to imagine, then, that a respectable Florentine citizen might sing songs of his own composition publicly in Piazza S. Martino or elsewhere; particularly a man in Pucci's position, whose duty it was to go about the city day after day, blowing his silver trumpet and making official proclamations. While holding for many years important positions under the city government, Pucci was obviously in direct relations with the crowd in the street. D'Ancona speaks of him as "principalissimo poeta

1. *ZRP*, II, 224. A recent discussion of the nature of popular poetry, Benedetto Croce, "Poesia 'popolare' e poesia 'd'arte'," in *La Critica*, XXVII (1929), pp. 321 ff., contains many interesting observations; for instance, p. 329: "Sia pure che la poesia popolare fiorisca di solito nell'ambiente popolare, non perciò si rinchiude in questo: ... del resto, è noto che gran parte della poesia popolare si deve a letterati o semiletterati, e assai poca a popolani ignoranti, di un' ignoranza circa la qua'e poi ci sarebbe molto da ridire e distinguere." See also F. Novati, "Le poesie sulla natura delle frutta e i canterini del Comune di Firenze nel Trecento," in *GSLI*, XIX, 55-79 (especially the petition, pp. 68-69).

popolare... che in sè porge la immagine del vero Cantore di piazza, intrattenente il circolo plebeo, che gli si faceva intorno al suono della viola e al canto delle sue rime"; <sup>1</sup> and again: "Il Pucci, non bisogna dimenticarselo, era un cantastorie; più nobile certamente e più dotto di molti altri, ma certo della famiglia di coloro che componevano pel pubblico e al pubblico recitavano le loro rime." <sup>2</sup> But on the other hand, continues D'Ancona, this does not necessarily mean that Pucci was a professional giullare, one of the class that earned their living by passing the plate at the end of the song. Rather was he an interpreter of public opinion, one who had unusual opportunities for knowing it, and unusual facility in expressing it, so that his verses, particularly those on events of the day, may be said to have performed to some extent the function of newspapers. They might even bring the desires of the people to the attention of the Priors, and thus have an important influence in the conduct of public affairs. To Ezio Levi <sup>3</sup> it seems unlikely that Pucci, an official of the Commune, ever presented himself as a singer in Piazza S. Martino, although his cantari were unquestionably sung there by others; this opinion is probably correct so far as concerns the romantic poems intended simply for amusement, or other compositions of a non-political character. But it is easy to imagine him so carried away by patriotic and public-spirited enthusiasm as to seize eagerly every opportunity to declaim at least his political verses to all who would listen, descending for the purpose from his house or from the Palazzo Vecchio into the crowded street.

The professional cantastorie had to have an extensive repertory of tales ready for presentation, so as to suit the mood of his auditors and avoid too frequent repetition. Hence there must have been a good market for cantari

1. *Poesia pop. ital.*, p. 48; cf. p. 75.

2. *Saggi di lett. pop.*, p. 340.

3. *Cantari leggendari*, p. 19.



which seemed superior to the ordinary run of more or less impromptu performances; they were recited from memory as if improvised, but none the less based as a rule on written copies, as in the case of those by Pucci. There are preserved a number of poems in Old French, Provençal and Italian which give lists of the poems or the subjects which a successful minstrel was expected to have at command. One of these, consisting of 59 stanzas in Italian ottava rima, is called by Pio Rajna, who edited it in 1878, *il Cantare dei Cantari*; <sup>1</sup> he inclines to consider the author as “un *quid simile* del Pucci, un uomo semicolto, che scrive per un pubblico d'illetterati. Non lo annovererei facilmente tra i cantori di piazza.” In stanza 47 (p. 434) we find these verses :

Un conto sol di costor mi dispiace  
Di legere o di dire o di cantarlo,

which indicate that written copies of the *conti* were used, and that these were read as well as recited and sung. Now Pucci kept a commonplace-book in which from time to time he entered notes on all sorts of subjects that attracted his attention in his reading, including subjects suitable for elaboration in literary form. D'Ancona has shown that practically all the material of the *Contrasto delle Donne*, for instance, is found in the form of notes in this so-called *Zibaldone*, and similarly Lazzeri has found there in prose the material of the poem on the beauty of women.<sup>2</sup> Thus the *Zibaldone* may be called the repertory of a popular poet; but it is more than that, for it contains an immense amount of information on all sorts of subjects, and really constitutes an almost encyclopedic compendium of what a man like Pucci could be expected to know of history, phi-

1. Pio Rajna, “Il Cantare dei Cantari e il Serventese del Maestro di tutte l'Arti,” in *ZRP*, II, 220-54, 419-37. The date of this poem is apparently between 1380 and 1420.

2. See D'Ancona, *Una Poesia e una prosa*, already cited; and G. Lazzeri in *GS LI*, XLIV, 114.

losophy, literature and science. It includes quotations from many authors, of whom Dante is the one whose name occurs most frequently. Such compendiums were of course much in vogue in the Middle Ages, and the *Divina Commedia* itself was looked upon as a repository of knowledge rather than a work of poetic art. All this material Pucci threw together at haphazard, without form or order; but this fact was no obstacle to its popularity, for we find no less than five manuscripts that contain it in whole or in part. Two of these — Cod. Riccardiano 1922 and Cod. Magliabechiano II, 335 (old number, XXIII, 135) — were known to D'Ancona, who first identified the *Zibaldone* as the work of Pucci, and in 1869-70 published a brief account of it and a portion of the text.<sup>1</sup> In 1883, Arturo Graf published<sup>2</sup> a more detailed description of the contents of these two manuscripts, with further extracts from the text. However, he was not convinced by D'Ancona's argument that the work was by Pucci. In 1904 this was thoroughly demonstrated by Ghino Lazzeri, who described two more manuscripts of the *Zibaldone*: Cod. Palatino 678 and Cod. Riccardiano 1674 (a fragment);<sup>3</sup> in the Cod. Magliabechiano, f. 75, in a discussion of methods of coloring peaches, he found these words: "E di questo non ti maravigliare, ch'io antonio pucci n'ò mangiate di più colori come che nate sieno." This passage, together with a reference to the *Noie* which will be mentioned later, is sufficient to prove the

1. *Una Poesia e una prosa*, in *Propugnatore* II and III, the text being taken from both mss. In reprinting this study in his *Saggi di lett. pop.* (1913), D'Ancona gives the same text from Cod. Laur.-Temp. 2. In 1885 A. Borgognoni published *per nozze* in Ravenna another extract: *Le Grazie, prosa inedita di Antonio Pucci sul pregio degli stati mondani.* (Cf. *RivCLI*, II, 27).

2. "Il *Zibaldone* attribuito ad Antonio Pucci," in *GSLI*, I, 282-300, 521. Cf. also *Inventari*, X, 41.

3. "Sull'autenticità dello 'Zibaldone' attribuito ad Antonio Pucci," in *GSLI*, XLIV, 104-16. Cf. also Gentile, *I Codici Palatini della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, II, 235-36; Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della Biblioteca Riccardiana*, I, 622.

authorship of the *Zibaldone*; and now Salomone Morpurgo has identified Cod. Laurenziano-Tempiano 2 as Pucci's original autograph of it.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the other manuscripts, all of the fifteenth century, reproduce the text with relative accuracy; but no description of the autograph text and no comprehensive analysis of its contents have yet been made public. It seems highly desirable, in view of the significance of the *Zibaldone* not only for an understanding of Pucci but for the history of Florentine culture, that a complete edition should be published.

Thus concerning the facts of Pucci's life we have scanty details, although it is to be expected that investigation will bring forth more information. His own voluminous writings, while inferences from them as to his biography must be accepted with reserve, throw considerable light on his character and his ideas, as well as on the typical attitude of mind and the customs of Florence in the fourteenth century. As a lyric poet, while a sincere admirer of Dante, he belongs to the popular, *borgnese* type: unusually observant and intelligent for a man of his class, he expresses with great fluency, but without much true poetic style, the sentiments of his generation. From his wide reading he derived not only his compilation of miscellaneous knowledge, the *Zibaldone*, but also subjects for his poems, and the manner of composing sonnets and canzoni of didactic or amorous character. His devotion to his native city, his interest in her history and government, his knowledge of current events, and his wide personal acquaintance furnished material for many political and historical poems, in which he expresses his desire and hope that Tuscany may enjoy peace and prosperity under the leadership of Florence.

Concluding this summary account of Pucci's life and

1. See *Bollettino delle Pubblicazioni italiane*, No. 133 (Gennaio 1912); also E. Levi, *Cantari leggendari*, p. 1.

writings, we pass to a consideration of the *Noïe*, beginning with a discussion of the literary genre to which it belongs.

### 3. — THE *Noïe* AS A LITERARY FORM

Among the types of poetry listed in the Provençal *Leys d'Amors* is the *enueg* — a poem which treats of things which annoy. In addition to this general characteristic, which of course may be found in various types of composition, the *enueg* has certain specific features making it a distinct literary form: it has little continuity, each annoyance being as a rule expressed in epigrammatic style without reference to those that precede and follow, so that the effect produced is often that of a series of proverbs, the only connecting link between them being the poet's dislike; and furthermore, to indicate this dislike, a word or phrase is repeated at frequent intervals. This repetition of a catch-word is the essential feature which distinguishes the *enueg* from other forms of satire or invective, although it is sometimes spoken of as simply a list of annoying things. The catch-word in Provençal is usually *enueg* or some word connected with it, and like the corresponding Italian words *enoio* or *noia*, it comes from the Latin *in odium* or *in odio*. The most comprehensive study yet published of the history and development of this literary type is found in two articles by Prof. Raymond T. Hill of Yale University, who thus defines it: "A metrical composition marked by two chief characteristics: (a) the enumeration in epigrammatic style of a series of vexatious things; (b) the repetition of a phrase which indicates the attitude of the poet."<sup>1</sup>

1. R. T. Hill, "The *Enueg*" in *PMLA*, XXVII (1912), 265-96; and "The *Enueg* and *Plazer* in Mediaeval French and Italian" in *PMLA*, XXX (1915), 42-63. See also a review of Hill by A. Jeanroy in *Romania*, XLII, 318; E. H. Wilkins, "The *Enueg* in Petrarch and in Shakespeare" in *Modern Philology*, XIII (1915), 495-96; L. Biadene, "Morfologia del Sonetto" in *SFR*, IV, 174; Ezio Levi,



There are obvious analogies, as suggested above, between the *enuæg* or *noie* and other types of satire and invective; but there is a more logical connection, at least so far as formal structure is concerned, with the type of composition called in the *Leys d'Amors* by the name *plazer* — an enumeration, similar in form to that of the *enuæg*, of things that please. There are also examples of what may be called a negative or reversed *plazer* — an enumeration of pleasing things which fail to please the poet, as in a sonnet by Cino da Pistoia, beginning:

Tutto ch'altrui aggrada me disgrada,  
Ed emmi a noia e'n dispiacere il mondo.<sup>1</sup>

In some poems, which may be called imperfect examples of the *enuæg*, the repeated word does not in itself imply,

*Poeti antichi lombardi*, Milano, 1921, pp. 64 ff.; O. M. Johnston, "Repetition of words and phrases at the beginning of consecutive tercets in Dante's *Divine Comedy*" in *PMLA*, XXIX (1914), 537-49 [Johnston sees in the more elaborate instances of repetition in the *Divine Comedy* "a survival of the *enuæg* type of composition"]. The passage in the *Leys d'Amors* (14th century) merely mentions the *enuæg* and *plazer* as recognized types, without defining them; after describing the *dictatz principals*, it continues with *dictatz no-principals*: "Et en aytals dictatz no trobam cert nombre de coblas, per que en aytals dictatz pot hom far aytantas coblas quos vol, ayssi cum son... *enuæg*z, *desplazers*, *desconortz*, *plazers*... o enayssi de trops autres." Text as given by C. Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, 5te Aufl., Leipzig, 1920, No. 124, p. 200; K. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie Provençale*, 5e ed., Berlin, 1892, col. 379 (6th ed., revised by Koschwitz, Marburg, 1903, col. 405). In the text published by J. Anglade, *Las Leys d'Amors, manuscrit de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux*, 4 tomes, Toulouse, 1919-20, these types are mentioned twice: "Autres dictatz pot hom far, losquals pot nomnar ayssi cos voldra cel quels dictara, mas que lor do nom apropiat e consonant, coma ... *enuæg*z, *desplazers*, *plazers*," etc. (II, p. 31); "Dictatz no principals no estrenhen a cert nombre de coblas. D'aytals haven gran re coma ... *enuæg*z, *plazers*, *desplazers*, *conortz*," etc. (II, p. 185).

1. *Le Rime di Cino da Pistoia*, ed. Zaccagnini, Geneva, 1925, p. 214 (text quoted from this edition); *Poesie di Messer Cino da Pistoia*, ed. Ciampi, Pistoia, 1828, p. 175; Carducci, *Rime di M. Cino da Pistoia e d'altri del secolo XIV*, Firenze, 1862, p. 77 (1928 ed., p. 80); D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, I, p. 402; *Rimatori del dolce stil nuovo*, ed. L. di Benedetto, Torino, [1925], p. 209.

dislike or annoyance. Thus in some cases the repeated word is a colorless *e*, "and"; while in satires against women, of which examples will be mentioned below, we find the word *femmina* or *femme* at regular intervals. A considerable number of Italian poems in which are repeated at intervals the words *maledico* or *maledetto*, and *benedico* or *benedetto*, suggest in outward form the *enueg* and the *plazer*; a close inspection of their content, however, shows that they belong to a different type. In the *maledetto* poem, the things cursed are not, as a rule, really and objectively annoying in themselves; but under given conditions they call forth the malediction of the poet. Usually he is unhappy in a love-affair and, like Dante's sinners waiting to cross the Acheron (*Inferno*, III, 103-05), he curses the time and all the circumstances of his birth and life and parentage. This type of poem is technically known as the *disperata*. It is found in popular as well as literary poetry; and in place of the more objective criticism that we find in the *enueg*, it expresses the personal emotion of the poet. In his second article, cited above, Hill gives examples of this type as having "the essential qualities of the *enueg*, of which they form a special subdivision."<sup>1</sup>

1. See also Wilkins, *l. c.*; G. Volpi, *Il Trecento*, p. 274; Biadene, *Morfologia del Sonetto*, pp. 15-17; Examples are: a sonnet probably by Cino da Pistoia, "Io maledico il dì ch'io vidi imprima" (ed. Ciampi, p. 168, ed. Zaccagnini, p. 90; ascribed to Dante by Fraticelli, by Moore, *Oxford Dante* No 33, by Charles Lyell, *The Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri*, London, 1840, p. 344, and by L. di Benedetto, *Rimatori*, p. xxviii, and *Studi sulle rime di Cino da Pistoia*, Chieti, 1923, p. 31; "probably by Dante," Grandgent, *The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 1917, p. 90; but see Barbi, *Studi sul Canzoniere di Dante*, p. 503, and in *Opere di Dante*, 1921, p. 143; Hill in *PMLA*, XXX ascribes it to Dante on p. 49 and to Cino on p. 50); a longer poem by Antonio da Ferrara (Volpi, *Rime di trecentisti minori*, p. 47; Ezio Levi, *Maestro Antonio da Ferrara*, Roma, 1920, pp. 151-53; Hill, p. 49); a sonnet ascribed to Petrarca: "Io maledico Amor dì e notte ancora" (Solerti, *Rime disperse di F. Petrarca o a lui attribuite*, Firenze, 1909, p. 160); and a poem in terza rima by Saviozzo, "Corpi celesti e tutte l'altre stelle" (pp. 73-75 of G. Volpi, "La Vita e le Rime di Simone Serdini detto il Saviozzo," in *GSLI*, XV, 1-78). Of the *benedetto* poems the best known is "Benedetto

The history of the *enueg* as a distinct literary type begins with the Provençal poet known as the Monk of Montaudon. Born at Vic-sur-Cère near Aurillac in the twelfth century, he entered the Benedictine order and became Prior of the unidentified abbey of Montaudon; but he did not cease to travel, to observe life, and to compose satiric songs giving the results of his observations. He was still living in 1207. Sixteen of his songs are preserved, the earliest dating from about 1194.<sup>1</sup> Four of them are in the form of the *enueg* or *plazer*; one, *Amics Robertz, fe qu'ieu dei vos* (No. 6), is an *enueg* except in the last stanza, which is a *plazer*; one (No. 8) consists of two parts, a *plazer* (No. 8a): *Molt mi platz deportz e gajeza* and an *enueg* (No. 8b): *Be m'enueja per Saint Salvair*; and two are *enuegs*: (No. 7) *Be m'enueja per Saynt Marsal*, and No. 9: *Fort m'enoja, s'o auzes dire*. The metre of these poems is very simple: the verses are octosyllabic (masculine or feminine), the stanzas have from 6 to 12 verses, and each stanza has only one or two rhymes. The objects which meet with the Monk's displeasure are general (poverty, avarice, jealousy, envy), special (a man who talks too much when away from home, a husband who loves his wife too much, riding in the rain without a cape, a chaplain or a monk with a beard, a tiresome woman:

sia 'l giorno e 'l mese e l'anno" by Petrarca, No. 61. Other examples are: a serventese of the thirteenth century, "Beneta sia l'ora e 'l zorno e 'l di," published in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Ser. IV, Vol. VII, 150-52; a sonnet by Antonio da Ferrara, sometimes ascribed to Petrarca: "Io benedico 'l di che Dio ti cinse" (Solerti, *op. cit.*, p. 285); and a sonnet by Lorenzo Moschi, "Benedetta sia l'ora e la stagione" (Volpi, *Rime di trecentisti minori*, p. 233). For examples from popular poetry, see D'Ancona, *La Poesia popolare italiana*, Livorno, 1906, pp. 238, 299, 462-63, 510, 553; *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Ser. IV, Vol. VII, p. 152.

1. There are two editions of this troubadour: E. Philippson, *Der Mönch von Montaudon*, Halle, 1873; Otto Klein, *Die Dichtungen des Mönchs von Montaudon*, Marburg, 1885 (*Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, VII). The numbers here given are those of Klein. No. 9 is printed in the *Chrestomathie provençale* of K. Bartsch; also by C. Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie* (No. 43), together with Klein's No. 8a (No. 44).



*Enoja me domn' enuejosa*), or finally, having to do with food and drink (too much water in a little wine, ill-cooked meat, too little meat in a large kettle, eating without a fire in midwinter); they are not grouped or arranged according to any plan, but follow one another at random. Similarly, the things that please are such as liberality, going to sleep when it rains or thunders, a fat salmon at the noon hour.

Evidently the *enueg* offers a ready method of satirizing contemporary manners and customs, persons and events. The Monk of Montaudon has been credited<sup>1</sup> with inventing it; but before his time the characteristic elements of the *enueg* and the *plazer* had been used by other troubadours. In particular, Bertran de Born, without composing complete examples of either form, introduces lists of pleasing and unpleasing things, repeating at intervals the words *platz mi* or *m'enoia*.<sup>2</sup> In addition to these Provençal examples, which antedate the Monk of Montaudon, Hill mentions<sup>3</sup> a fragment by Guillen Peire de Casals, and a poem on avarice by Peire Cardinal which consists largely of enumerations introduced by the word *e*, and concludes:

Mos chantars es enueg als enoios  
Et als plazens plazers ; cui platz razos,  
Tug li dig son enoios e plazen ;  
So qu'als us platz als autres es salvatge.

1. See Philipponson, *op. cit.*, p. 93, and cf. Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

2. See Hill in *PMLA*, XXVII, 270-73. Noteworthy examples are : *Bem platz lo gais temps de pascor* (probably by Bertran de Born; see A. Stimming, *Bertran de Born*, 3te Aufl., Halle, 1913, p. 139; A. Thomas, *Poésies complètes de B. de B.*, Toulouse, 1888, p. 133; V. Crescini, *Manuale per l'avviamento agli studi provenzali*, 3a ed., Milano, 1926, p. 194), in which *platz* is repeated in the first three stanzas; *Rassa tan creis e monta e poia* (Stimming No. 28), in which *m'enoia* occurs, the musical notation being the same as that of No. 9 of the Monk of Montaudon (J. Beck, *La Musique des Troubadours*, Paris, [1910], p. 90); and *Bel mes quan vei chamjar lo senhoratge* (Stimming, p. 137; Thomas, p. 131; Crescini, p. 196), in which the qualities of old and young people are contrasted, with constant repetition of *Velha... e es velha; Joves ... e es joves*, etc. (respectively unpleasing and pleasing qualities).

3. *PMLA*, XXVII, 269, quoting from Raynouard, *Choix*, V, 204 and IV, 342. Cf. *PMLA*, XXX, 44 n.



We may note also a *sirventes* by Guilhem Figueira, *D'un sirventes far en est son que m'agenssa*,<sup>1</sup> which consists of a series of accusations against Rome, the name *Roma* being cited from one to three times in every stanza. And since the *enueg* receives its most extensive development in Italy, it is interesting to find in the Italian troubadour Sordello some of its characteristics. In the little 14-line poem *Entre dolsor ez amar sui fermanz*,<sup>2</sup> verses 4 to 8 begin alternately *E m'es amar* and *E m'es dolsors* — *amar* being the adjective "bitter", but with a play on the verb *amar*. In his long didactic poem, *Ensegnamen d'onor* (1327 verses), Sordello expresses himself in words that suggest some of Antonio Pucci's poems:

Totz oms, qui bes vol far grazir,  
Deuria plazer far e dir  
Ses ennueg; quar qui plazer fai,  
E pues ennueg, tot o desfai...

Don totz oms si deu acordar,  
Tan tost com comenz' a regnar,  
De far a granz e a petitz  
Plazer, si vol esser grazitz;  
E quan non pot lo plazer faire,  
D'ennueg a far si deu estraire;  
Qu'aissis pot far grazir chascus  
Al siegle, e non, estiers, negus...

S'eu ai en mon enseignamen  
Mostrat re, que plaz' a la gen...<sup>3</sup>

The songs by the Monk of Montaudon remain, however, the typical and complete examples of the *enueg* and *plazer* in Provençal. Their influence can be traced in the Hispanic peninsula, in northern France, and in Italy. In Castilian, Portuguese, and French we find occasional use of the genre

1. Crescini, *op. cit.*, No. 45, pp. 281-86, with bibliography.

2. Cesare de Lollis, *Vita e poesie di Sordello di Goito*, Halle, 1896, (*Romanische Bibliothek* XI), No. xxxvii, p. 202; cf. p. 294.

3. *Op. cit.*, No. xxxx, verses 281-84, 293-300, 1297-98.

from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The most striking example is in the work of Jordi de Sant Jordi, a Catalan poet of the fifteenth century, who doubtless knew the songs of the Monk, although there is no evidence of direct borrowing. His poem called *Los Enuigs* consists of nine stanzas of nineteen verses each, the word *enuig* being repeated at frequent intervals.<sup>1</sup>

It is in Italy that we find the *enuieg* and the *plazer* most extensively represented, partly through the influence of the Monk of Montaudon and partly as an independent development. The vogue of these forms in Italy extends from the first half of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth. The earliest example, and one of the most famous, was composed by Girardo Patecchio, or Pateg, of Cremona. He and his poem are referred to by Salimbene of Parma (1221- ca. 1288), whose uncle "aliquando in Cremona trufavit et decepit magistrum Girardum Pateccium qui fecit librum *de Tediis*." In five different passages of his *Cronaca*, Salimbene quotes verses from this "book", which he evidently knew by heart; and in 1259, as he says, "composui et scripsi alium librum *Tediorum* ad similitudinem Pateccii." <sup>2</sup> Patecchio is mentioned as one of the witnesses to a treaty between Cremona and Parma, July 23, 1228; <sup>3</sup> and in 1253 there is mention of a document

1. For various versions of the text, see Massò-Torrents, *Obres poetiques de Jordi de Sant Jordi*, Barcelona, 1902; Sanvisenti, *I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca e del Boccaccio sulla letteratura spagnuola*, Milano, 1902, p. 453; Bartsch, "Der catalonische Cancioner d'amor der Pariser Bibliothek," in *Jahrbuch*, II (1860), 288-92. Compare also Hill in *PMLA*, XXVII, 273-75, and E. Levi, *Poeti antichi lombardi*, p. 71.

2. Text of Salimbene edited by Holder-Egger in *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*, XXXII. See Mussafia, "Aus der Chronik von Fra Salimbene" in *Jahrbuch*, VI, 222-26; E. Levi, *Poeti antichi lombardi*, p. 64 ff.; *La Bizzarra Cronaca di Frate Salimbene* (translations of selections with introduction by F. Bernini), Lanciano, 1926, pp. xi, xxiv; F. Novati, "La cronaca di Salimbene" in *GSLI*, I (1883), 381-423; and Novati's edition of the *Noie*, cited below.

3. Restori in *GSLI*, XXI, 454-55.

"facto a magistro Girardo Pateclo notario."<sup>1</sup> He was doubtless born before 1200; but it does not seem probable, as has been suggested, that he was made a notary during the reign of Henry VI (who died 1197).<sup>2</sup> In any case, he is the oldest vernacular poet of Lombardy, and one of the oldest of all Italy; before the discovery of his poems, this was asserted on the basis of Salimbene's citations.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Patecchio's name had become so generally associated, at least in Northern Italy, with the *Noie* type of composition that in a manuscript from that region we find the *Noie* of Antonio Pucci with the heading: *Quive se chomença le noglie del patechia* (see description of ms. J, below). Then, within the space of ten years, two poems by him came to light; in 1886, Tobler published the *Splanamento dei Proverbi de Salamone*, which he had discovered in a thirteenth-century manuscript acquired in 1882 by the Royal Library in Berlin from the Hamilton collection;<sup>4</sup> and in

1. See E. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 56. It is not necessary to infer, as Novati does, that Patecchio was still alive in 1253.

2. Cf. E. Levi, *l. c.*; Bertoni, *Il Duecento*, 1930, pp. 271-94.

3. Gaspary, *The History of Early Italian Literature*, trans. H. Oelsner, London, 1901, pp. 134-35, 357. The German original of Gaspary was published in 1885; Italian translation by Zingarelli, Torino, 1887, I, p. 119. See also Novati, edition cited below, pp. 280 ff.

4. A. Tobler, "Das 'Spruchgedicht' des Girard Pateg," in *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, XXVII, 629 ff. Extracts in Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana*, 101-05, and in Ezio Levi, *op. cit.*, 58-63. The manuscript containing this poem of some 600 verses, with other important texts of the same period, belonged in the eighteenth century to the Saibante library in Verona and was examined by Apostolo Zeno (see Mussafia in *Jahrbuch*, VIII, 207); then it passed into the Hamilton library (No. 390) and was lost sight of. The first 42 verses of the *Splanamento* are also in Cod. Canoniciano 48 of the Bodleian, from which they were published in 1878 by E. Teza in *GFR*, I, 233. The text is in the main a paraphrase of the books of *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*; one section of it is a satire on women, similar to another text in the same manuscript, the so-called *Proverbia que dicuntur super natura feminarum*, published by Tobler, *ZRP*, IX, 287-331 (cf. Monaci, *Crestomazia*, 139). Levi has shown, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-22, that the proper title of this poem is *Castigabriceon*, corresponding to the French *Chastie-musari* (cf. P. Meyer in *Romania*, XV, 603; and Guerrieri Crocetti, *La Lirica predantesca*, Firenze, 1925, p. 243).

1896 Francesco Novati published the *De Taediis* (*Enoio* or *Noie*), which he had discovered in a manuscript of the Brera Library in Milan.

This manuscript is a miscellany written in the fifteenth century by Bartolomeo Sacchella or de' Sacelli of Milan, who called the verses in question "Frotula noie moralis," and gave no author's name. The text is corrupted not only by errors of reading, but by the insertion of verses of later origin and numerous glosses. Nevertheless it is sufficiently identified by the fact that in it are found all the verses quoted by Patecchio's contemporary, Salimbene. Novati published the text as it stands in the manuscript, with emendations and the citations of Salimbene in foot-notes: <sup>1</sup> unfortunately he never brought out his proposed critical edition. He pointed out that the text consists of three poems of identical structure, in which the corresponding verses rhyme together; and the typical words or phrases indicating annoyance recur at corresponding points (e. g., the first word in each of the three poems is *noioso*; the second stanza in each begins: *Ben mi noya*; the fourth stanza in each: *Grande noia mi fa*; the seventh stanza: *La maggior noia*; etc.). No. 1 and No. 3 have 8 stanzas of 10 verses followed by a *congedo* (*commiato* or *envoi*) of 6 verses. No. 2 has 7 stanzas; but it has been assumed (without proof) by Novati and other scholars that it corresponded originally to Nos. 1 and 3. Following No. 3 is a *plazer* of 5 stanzas, beginning *Altro van cantando de le noia*; presumably, then, by a different author. The citations of Salimbene come from all three of the *noie* poems, and Novati believed all

1. Francesco Novati, "Girardo Pateg e le sue *Noie*, testo inedito del primo Dugento," in *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, Serie II, Vol. XXIX (1896), pp. 279-88, 500-16. The first of the three poems is reprinted from Novati's text by Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana*, p. 529; the first and second are given in P. Savj-Lopez und M. Bartoli, *Altitalienische Chrestomathie*, Strassburg, 1903, pp. 25-30. Several stanzas are quoted by G. Zonta, *Storia della Letteratura italiana*, Torino, 1928, I, pp. 442-44.



three to be the work of Patecchio, but addressed to three different persons. He also declared that the rhyme-scheme, ABABABCCCC, is a type of *decima rima* based on the octave (ABABABCC) and hitherto unknown in Italian.<sup>1</sup> The metre is irregular in the manuscript, but Novati assumed it to be hendecasyllabic.

In 1897 A. Zenatti made an important contribution to the study of the subject, and added a new name to the list of early Italian poets.<sup>2</sup> He pointed out that the person to whom No. 1 is addressed in the *commiato*,

Canzoneta, vatin senza noia  
Ad Ugo di Perso, chi è di buona voglia,

was the author of Nos. 2 and 3, replying with the same rhymes and catch-words to Girardo; in fact, the *commiato* of No. 3 begins (Novati's text):

Cancioneta senza buxia  
Ad Gerardo pratico per la via.<sup>3</sup>

It is far more natural, and more in accordance with both Provençal and Italian methods, that a second poet should reply with corresponding rhymes and catch-words, than

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 285-87. These conclusions were in general accepted by F. Flamini in an important review of Novati's work, in *RBLI*, IV (1896), pp. 165-74.

2. A. Zenatti, "Gerardo Patecchio e Ugo di Perso" in *Atti della R. Accademia Lucchese*, Vol. XXIX, also separately, Lucca, 1897. See review by V. Crescini in *RBLI*, V (1897), pp. 281-84.

3. Both Zenatti and Crescini take *pratico* to be a corruption of the name Pateclo or Pateg; but Levi emends as follows:

Canzoneta va senza noia  
A Girardo pratico di noia,

and interprets *pratico di* in its usual meaning as "familiar with." The rhyme in *oia* corresponds with that of the *commiato* of No. 1. Zenatti believed that Girardo wrote the *plazer*, but Crescini shows that it must be by a third poet, of unknown name. In 1213 an Ugo di Persico went as ambassador from Cremona to Frederick II; this may be the writer of Nos. 2 and 3. Persico is a village near Cremona. See references in preceding note, and E. Levi, *Poeti antichi lombardi*, pp. 55-108.

that one poet should reply to himself. Obviously, then, only; the first of the three *noie*-poems is the work of Patecchio; yet his name became attached to the series in such a way that Salimbene, doubtless quoting from memory, ascribed all three poems to him.

Another important contribution was made by Ezio Levi.<sup>1</sup> He traces the history of the *noie* type, and shows the indebtedness of Patecchio and Ugo di Perso to the Monk of Montaudon, not so much in the actual annoyances, as in the form of the poems — though there are some direct borrowings of ideas. In particular, Levi shows that the verses are *novenari*, corresponding to the masculine eight-syllable verses of the Provençal; the incorporation of glosses in the text, whether by Sacchella or by the manuscript which he followed, having given them the appearance of *endecasillabi*, albeit very irregular. Levi attempts to restore the original text, with regular metre and rhyme, and he reduces each *commiato* to four verses. To the text of the three poems thus reconstituted he adds a paraphrase in modern Italian prose, and notes. Some of his emendations are extremely bold, but there is no doubt that in general his method is correct, and that his edition is of substantial value for the study of the writer whom Flamini calls “fra i meno noiosi cantori di noie.”<sup>2</sup>

With the name of Patecchio has sometimes been associated that of Lo Schiavo di Bari, one of the earliest of *rimatori* in Italian; he must have flourished at least as early as the first third of the thirteenth century, since he is mentioned in the *Rhetorica Novissima* of Maestro Boncompagno (dated 1235), in the chapter *De transumptionibus ioculatorum*, in the following terms: “Sclavo quidem baren-

1. *Loc. cit.*

2. *RBLI*, IV, 166. C. Guerrieri Crocetti, *La Lirica predantesca*, Firenze, 1925, pp. 226-42, reproduces Levi's text with changes; for instance, he assigns to the *commiato* of No. 3 six verses, as in the ms., whereas Levi reduces this *commiato* to four verses like No. 1. Cf. A. Monteverdi in *GSLT*, LXXXII, 157-74.

sis, ingeniosus in ydiomate materno transumptor, in quadem cantione amicam suam transumpsit, etc.'<sup>1</sup> A quotation from him by Francesco da Barberino,<sup>2</sup>

E pero credo che disse lo Schiavo:  
Piacemi in donna bellezza che dura,

has led to the assumption that he composed an otherwise unknown *plazer*. To him is ascribed a *serventese* consisting of a series of moral precepts, *La Dottrina dello Schiavo di Bari*, several stanzas of which correspond in content to verses in the *Noie* and other poems of Pucci. It has some sixty-five stanzas in the form AAAb, BBBc, CCCd, etc., which appears rarely in the thirteenth century but is frequently used by Pucci and many others in the fourteenth. This particular text may, of course, be somewhat later than 1235; but by the end of the century it must have been current in Bologna, since a notary of that city copied verses from it in a manuscript dated 1306.<sup>3</sup> It occurs in a number of manuscripts, one of them being Cod. Univ. Bologna 158 (our ms. K) in which it comes between Pucci's *Noie* and his sonnet *Il giovane che vuol avere onore*. Before 1300 a Latin version of it was made by Jacopo da Benevento, beginning:

Incipiunt Sclavi de Baro consona dicta  
A Beneventano Iacobo per carmina dicta.<sup>4</sup>

1. See Pio Rajna, "Lo Schiavo di Bari," in *Biblioteca delle Scuole italiane*, ser. III, anno X, No. 18 (1904); G. Bertoni, *Il Duecento*, pp. 275-94; G. Mazzoni in *RivCLL*, V, 125; *RSLL*, XIII, 104; Charles H. Haskins, "Latin Literature under Frederic II," p. 146, in *Speculum*, III (1928), pp. 129-51 (reprinted in his *Studies in Medieval Culture*, Oxford University Press, 1929). To Professor Haskins I am indebted for his courtesy in lending me a photostat of the article by Rajna.

2. *Reggimento e Costumi di Donna*, ed. Baudi di Vesme, Bologna, 1875, p. 32.

3. See F. Pellegrini, "Rime inedite dei secoli XIII e XIV tratte dai libri dell'Archivio notarile di Bologna," in *Propugnatore*, N. S., III, n. pp. 113-79 (1890); also Pellegrini in *GSLL*, XXII (1898), 395-407.

4. See Haskins, *l. c.*, also Rajna, etc. The *Dottrina* was printed

If, as we have reason to believe, the Schiavo di Bari mentioned as a judge in one of the early tales in the *Novellino* is the author of the *Dottrina*, he is an example of the not unusual combination of poet and notary or judge. The scene of the tale is Bari, where it would be natural for Sclavus or Schiavo, in the sense of "Slavonian", not "slave", to become used as a personal name; in fact, it was so used in that region at a very early date. An attempt has been made by Emilio Re to show that the magistrate of the *Novellino* came not from Bari but from Bar-sur-Aube in Champagne, where many Italians came to attend the fairs; and that Schiavo is derived from *scabinus* (Ital. *scabino*, Fr. *échevin*).<sup>1</sup> If we overlook the phonetic difficulty, the suggestion would be plausible for the tale of the *Novellino*; but if we identify this Schiavo with the author of the *Dottrina*, there are serious objections to it, which Re does not consider — the early date of the *Dottrina* and the presence of the name Sclavus in Southern Italy (and later in Northern Italy).<sup>2</sup> In any case, the *Dottrina* need not have been written in Bari; the published text is Tuscan in form, as may be seen from these verses:

before 1500, and there are modern editions: by F. Zambrini in *Scelta* XI (1865), by G. Ferraro in *Propugnatore*, XIX, II, pp. 263-69 (1886), and by S. Satta in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, 28 Dic. 1902.

1. E. Re, "Lo Schiavo di Bari e la novella da lui intitolata nel *Novellino*," in *Bullettino della Società Filologica Romana*, N. S., No. III (1912), pp. 3-15. Cf. *RBLI*, XX, 166.

2. The novella is No. 10 in the Gualteruzzi text, 1525; No. 9 in that of Borghini, 1572; No. 13 in that of Biagi, 1880. See A. D'Ancona, *Studi di critica e storia letteraria*, 2a ed., Bologna, 1912, II, pp. 62, 95. In his study of the sources of the *Novellino*, D'Ancona says: "Schiavo di Bari, rimatore volgare che sta fra il XII e il XIII sec. e può con verisimiglianza identificarsi col giudice della nostra novella"; he mentions the old theory that Schiavo "potrebbe essere corruzione di *scabino*"; see his references. For early instances of the name Sclavus, see F. Torraca, "Per la storia letteraria del Secolo XIII," p. 112, in *RasCLI*, X (1905), pp. 97-133; and a note by E. Sicardi, in *Il Novellino e altre novelle antiche*, Livorno, 1919, p. 23. F. Scandone in a publication per nozze that I have not seen, identifies lo Schiavo with a Jew of Bari cited in 1271: *Lo Schiavo di Bari Israelita?*, Napoli, 1908. Cf. Bertoni, *l. c.*



Da questo buono essenpro de' imparare.  
 Tempo è da tacer, tempo è da parlare:  
 Savio è l'uomo che sa temporeggiare  
 Colle genti.<sup>1</sup>

E se t'è detta la cosa secreta,  
 Non l'andare dicendo; tiella queta;  
 Non consentir lo male, anzi lo vieta  
 Se tu puoi.<sup>2</sup>

Later we shall quote further from the *Dottrina* to show its relation to the *Noie* in content; this relation is close enough to suggest that possibly Pucci may have seen or heard these verses. It is evident from what precedes that other literary types which lack essential characteristics of the *enueg* and the *plazer* nevertheless sometimes have certain features in common with them. In presenting lists of agreeable or disagreeable qualities, actions and situations, of virtues and vices, a poet's purpose may be simply to amuse by praising pleasant things or lamenting their absence, or it may be to satirize, or to lay down precepts for conduct. "Naturally," as Prof. Hill remarks,<sup>3</sup> "it was but a short step forward to the segregation of joys or vexations, and the repetition of a phrase which was calculated to impress the hearer with the pleasure or pain that the author wished to emphasize." Sometimes, as we have seen, the repeated phrase does not in itself imply either praise or blame, as for instance when it is simply the word

1. Zambrini edition, p. 16; for the general idea, cf. *Noie*, *terzina* 25. A closer parallel is the sonnet ascribed to King Enzo (ed. Thornton in *Speculum*, I, pp. 404, 408; see also *PMLA*, XX, 423-33 and Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 203):

Tempo vene ki sale e ki discende.  
 Tempo è da parlare e da ttacere,  
 Tempo è d'ascoltare e da imprende,  
 Tempo di molte cose provedere, etc.

This sonnet is an example of the repetition of a key-word, the first eight verses all beginning with "tempo." The source seems to be *Ecclesiastes* III, 1-8.

2. Zambrini ed., p. 14; cf. *Noie*, *terz.* 31.

3. *PMLA*, XXVII, 283.

e, "and"; or the word *femmina*. The didactic precepts may concern the rearing of children, or general etiquette, or specifically table-manners, or morality. Compositions of these types often closely resemble the *enueg* in content without having its essential form; and conversely, a typical *enueg* may partake of the nature of the various types mentioned. The purpose of the Monk of Montaudon and of Girardo Patecchio seems to have been primarily to divert by calling attention to the foibles of their contemporaries. Antonio Pucci undoubtedly had the same purpose; but both in his *Noie* and in several of his sonnets it is easy to detect a didactic purpose as well: *castigat ridendo mores*. He calls attention to irreverence in religious matters, to breaches of morality and of ordinary tact and courtesy, to objectionable habits in connection with eating and drinking, all these annoyances being roughly grouped and classified, and each one being accompanied by the same phrase expressing disapproval. Some of my older readers may be reminded of a little book of years ago, which began every sentence in a long series of rules for manners and customs with the word which also formed its title, "Don't". In other cases, perhaps to be accepted as equally perfect examples of the *enueg*, various words are used to express dislike; in fact, Patecchio, as we have seen, varies the form of his expressions. Works like *Il Galateo* of Giovanni della Casa (1558) and the medieval treatises on table-manners<sup>1</sup> have the content without the form. On the other hand, one capitolo of *Il Manganello*, discussed elsewhere, is a perfect *enueg*

1. For instance, *De Quinquaginta Curialitatibus ad Mensam* by Bonvesin da Riva, published in 1851 by Bekker, reprinted by Bartoli, *Crestomazia della Poesia italiana*, Torino, 1882, p. 61; Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 399. This poem consists largely of "don'ts", some of which correspond to the *Noie* of Pucci. See also W. M. Rossetti, "Italian Courtesy-books," in *Early English Text Society*, Extra Series 8, II, 1-76 (text and English translation of Bonvesin, etc.); A. Parducci, *Costumi ornati*, Bologna, 1928; S. Glixelli, "Les Contenances de table," in *Romania*, XLVII, 1-40; K. Bartsch in *RFR*, II, 45.

in form, being in fact an imitation of Pucci's *Noie*; but in content it is very different — not so much a satire as a violent invective against women which castigates without laughter; and thus this capitolo, like the whole poem in fact, is allied with the misogynistic literature so widely diffused in the Middle Ages, of which the *Castigabrimon* mentioned above is another example. Evidently, then, the *enueg* or *noie*, and kindred types more or less closely related to it, offer scope for great variety both in form and in content; and this is true whether we regard it primarily as satire, as invective, as a didactic treatise, or simply as an expression of the feeling of the poet.

In the second half of the thirteenth century and in the fourteenth we find a number of lyrics enumerating things which annoy or things which please. Several sonnets by Guittone d'Arezzo are cited in this connection by Hill in the articles already mentioned. Of these, one, *Deo, che mal aggia mia fede, mi' amore*,<sup>1</sup> curses things which in themselves are praiseworthy, — the poet's faith and his love, his courtesy and his honor, etc., — repeating the phrase *mal aggia*, so that this sonnet belongs rather to the *maledetto* or *disperata* class mentioned above; another, *Ai, con mi dol vedere omo valente*,<sup>2</sup> is a true *enueg*, each item being introduced by *e*, while at the end the poet curses (*mal aggia*) the day when his lady received her great beauty and her hard heart. The sonnet *Ahi, che bon m'è vedere ben piacente* <sup>3</sup> is a true *plazer*, the repeated word being *e*. The canzone *Gente noiosa e villana*,<sup>4</sup> cited by Hill, is political in subject. The poem of Guittone most interesting from our present point of view is the canzone <sup>5</sup> beginning:

1. *Rime*, ed. Pellegrini, Bologna, 1901, I, p. 82; ed. Valeriani, Firenze, 1828, II, p. 78.

2. Pellegrini, I, p. 9; Valeriani, II, p. 30; quoted by Hill, in *PMLA*, XXVII, 282.

3. Valeriani, II, p. 119.

4. Pellegrini, I, p. 286; Valeriani, I, p. 157; Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

5. Valeriani, I, pp. 56-61; cf. Hill, *PMLA*, XXX, 56 n., and Levi, *Poeti antichi lombardi*, p. 73.

Tanto sovente dett'aggio altra fiata  
 Di dispiacenza e di falso piacere,  
 Che bel m'è forte ed aggradivo or dire  
 Di ciò, che di ver grado in cor m'aggrata.  
 Primamente nel mondo aggrado pace,  
 E m'aggrada vedere, ecc.

This canzone is a true *plazer* of the type that has different words to express pleasure repeated in each stanza: in stanza I, *aggrado* or *aggrada*; in II, *bel m'è* (cf. Provençal *bel m'es*); in III, *piace*; in IV, *diletto* (verb, "I take pleasure"); in V, *sammi bon* (not repeated); in VI the first verse reads: *Aggrada e piace, e sa più bello e bono*, with later *m'addolza* and *che dolce è*. This arrangement corresponds to that of a canzone by Bindo Bonichi in the next century, beginning *Guai a chi nel tormento*,<sup>1</sup> in which the first three and the fifth stanzas form an *enueg* and the fourth is a sort of *plazer*; the stanzas are of 16 verses, with the scheme abbC, abbC, DEeF, DEeF, and each group of four verses begins with a catch-word: in stanza I, *Guai a chi*; in II, *Grave è*; in III, *Folle è*; in IV, *Saggio è*; and in V these words are repeated in the same order. Bonichi's sonnet *Fra l'altre cose non lievi a portare* <sup>2</sup> is in substance an *enueg* without the repeated word, while others of his poems have the repetition; in one sonnet <sup>3</sup> verses 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12 begin *Tristo a colui*; in another <sup>4</sup> verses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 begin *Puossi*; in one canzone <sup>5</sup> each stanza begins *L'omo*, giving rules for conduct.

Passing over other poets, like Francesco da Barberino,

1. *Rime di Bindo Bonichi da Siena (Scelta, LXXXII)*, Bologna, 1867, canz. IX, p. 65; Carducci, *Rime di M. Cino da Pistoia e d'altri*, Firenze, 1928, p. 161. O. M. Johnston in *PMLA*, XXIX, 545-49, gives text in full and compares with *Purgatorio* XII, 25-63. Cf. Hill in *PMLA*, XXVII, 286; I. Sanesi, "Bindo Bonichi da Siena e le sue rime," in *GSLI*, XVIII, 1-75.

2. *Rime di B. B.*, p. 173; Carducci, p. 155; Mussafia, in *Jahrbuch*, VI, 225. Cf. Hill, *PMLA*, XXVII, 285.

3. *Rime*, p. 178; Carducci, p. 159.

4. *Rime*, p. 189.

5. *Rime*, p. 76.



who enumerate things which annoy or which please them, quite in the spirit of the *enueg* and the *plazer* but without the repetition of phrase which is characteristic of the type, we find in the poems of Chiaro Davanzati, a contemporary of Guittone d'Arezzo, the most noteworthy example of the *plazer* in Italian literature. It consists of a series of ten sonnets, each of which describes the good qualities of one or more classes of people; in each sonnet the words *piaciemi* or *mi piace* occur in the first and ninth verses (except in one case, where they are in verses 1 and 7). Thus the corona as a whole, while having a distinctly moral or didactic tone, is a perfect example of the type. It is perhaps worth while to quote the first lines of the ten sonnets as they are found in the Cod. Vat. 3793, where the first two are separated from the rest by five extraneous sonnets: <sup>1</sup>

- (578) Molto diletto e piaciemi vedere  
a giovane possente validore
- (579) Molto mi piace vedere cavaliero
- (585) Ancora mi piace velglio canosciente
- (586) Ancora mi piace vedere mercatante
- (587) E piaciemi e diletto ciertto assai  
vedere sergiente destio di servire
- (588) E si mi piace vedere pulzella
- (589) Ancora mi piace a vedova pemsare
- (590) E si mi piace padre argomentoso  
in mantenere suo filglio costumato

1. The numbers are those of the edition of the Società Filologica Romana, *Il Libro de varie romanze volgare*, Roma, 1902-08. The sonnets are also found in the older edition of this ms., D'Ancona e Comparetti, *Le Antiche Rime Volgari*, Bologna, 1886, Vol. IV, pp. 267-83; they were published, except the first one, by A. D'Ancona in *Propugnatore*, VI, 1, 359-67 (cf. *ibid.*, VII, 1, 60). The seventh and tenth are reprinted by Hill, *PMLA*, XXVII, 284-85; and this fact misled Ezio Levi into saying: "Due *plazers* compose anche Chiaro Davanzati, seguace di Guittone e della poesia provenzale egli pure conoscitore ed imitatore. Nel primo..." (*Poeti Antichi Lombardi*, p. 73). It is more proper to speak of the whole corona of ten sonnets as a *plazer*, rather than each separate sonnet.

(591) Ancora mi piacie chi suo padre inora

(592) E piaciemi vedere rilegioso

Another striking corona of sonnets enumerating things which please the poet is that of Folgore da San Gimignano on the appropriate pleasures of the twelve months of the year, parodied by Cene da la Chitarra with a series of the annoying things of each month.<sup>1</sup> In these sonnets the repeated catch-word does not occur. An allied form is the enumeration of pleasing things which do not please the poet. Instances of this type have been mentioned; a striking case is the sonnet by Petrarca: *Nè per sereno ciel ir vaghe stelle*,<sup>2</sup> in which verses 1-7, 9 begin with *nè*, and verse 12, *Noia m'è 'l viver*; and this has been compared with a sonnet by Guido Cavalcanti: *Beltà di donna et di piagente core*.<sup>3</sup> A real *enuég*, but without the repeated word except for an occasional *e*, is the sonnet by Francesco Berni: *Cancheri e beccafichi magri arrosto*,<sup>4</sup> which includes a series of disconnected annoyances, and ends with this coda:

Chi più n'ha, più ne metta,  
E conti tutti i dispetti e le doglie;  
Chè la maggior di tutte è l'aver moglie.

With this may be compared a canzonetta ascribed to Burchiello, which has as refrain:

1. See G. Navone, *Le Rime di Folgore da San Gimignano e di Cene da la Chitarra*, Bologna, 1880; Guerrieri Crocetti, *La Lirica Predantesca*, pp. 333-50; Hill in *PMLA*, XXX, 59-61.

2. No. 312; cited, together with Shakespeare's sonnet *Tired with all these, for restful death I cry*, by E. H. Wilkins, "The *enuég* in Petrarch and in Shakespeare," in *Modern Philology*, XIII (1915), 495. Petrarca's sonnet is among those ascribed to Antonio Pucci in Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, f. 84 v.

3. P. Ercole, *Guido Cavalcanti e le sue rime*, Livorno, 1885, p. 269; Nannucci, *Manuale*, I, p. 269.

4. D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, II, 556-58; Hill in *PMLA*, XXVII, 291.

Fratel mio non pigliar moglie,  
Se non vuoi tormenti, e doglie.<sup>1</sup>

These last quotations bring us to the connection between Pucci and the satires against women, mentioned above as having some relation to the *noie*-form. Pucci's attitude toward women is in general sympathetic and respectful. One of his poems, *Contrasto delle Donne*, seventy-five stanzas in ottava rima, begins as follows:

Nuova canzon di femmine tristizia  
Va amaestrando chi ti sta a udire,  
E conta parte dela lor malizia,  
Però che tutta non potresti dire:  
Ch' i' truovo che già più d'una melizia  
D'omini prodi ànno fatti morire:  
De' quali alcun dirò per farne pruova  
S'a lor difesa è verun che si muova.<sup>2</sup>

The poem is a dialogue, the interlocutors in alternate stanzas accusing and defending the famous or infamous women of history and legend; the discussion, in which Pucci himself seems to be the defender, ends in a draw:

— Poichè 'l non si può viver senza loro,  
Io son contento di far pace teco —  
— Ed el mi piace: andiam senza dimoro,  
E pagherai metadella di greco —  
— Se io pagassi, il regno feminoro  
Avrebbe vinto: prima fussi cieco! —  
— I' berro ben, ma non ci far più motto —  
— Con questo patto: che le stian di sotto! —

1. *Sonetti del Burchiello*, Londra, 1757, pp. 147-49.

2. Published by A. D'Ancona, "Unapoesia ed una prosa di Antonio Pucci" in *Propugnatore* II, 11, 397-438; III, 1, 35-53: reprinted with corrections in D'Ancona, *Saggi di letteratura popolare*, Livorno, 1913, pp. 329-86. The *Contrasto*, printed according to the text of the Kirkup ms. (our ms. A), occupies pp. 412-38 in *Propugnatore* II, 11 (1869), and pp. 349-70 in *Saggi*; it is found in Cod. Riccard. 1055 without author's name and with 92 stanzas; also, according to D'Ancona, in two other Florentine mss. and in an incunabulum edition. According to *Inventari* II, 190, the *Contrasto* is also in Cod. 71 (6225) of the library at Volterra; and *Inventari* VIII, 151-62, in our ms. N.

A long passage in Pucci's *Zibaldone*, published by D'Ancona with the *Contrasto*,<sup>1</sup> begins with a version of the well-known treatise against women ascribed to Theophrastus, includes quotations from other "authorities" on the subject, and gives two sonetti caudati of particular interest in the present connection. The heading and first quatrain of one are as follows:

*E Buto Giovannini contra la femina scrisse così. Mando Antonio Pucci questo sonetto:*

Antonio mio, di femina pavento  
 Però che femina è con ogni inganno.  
 Femine di natura proprio affanno  
 Femine d'ogni mal cominciamento.

The remaining verses, except the coda, all begin with the word *Femina*. There follows a reply sonnet with the same rhymes, beginning:

*Risposta fece Antonio Pucci.*  
 La femina fa l'uom viver contento  
 Gli uomini senza loro niente fanno...  
 Per ognuna ch'è rea, ne sono cento  
 Che con gran pregio di virtude stanno...

Since the two sonnets are thus ascribed in the *Zibaldone*, there is no room for doubt that Pucci is the defender of women against Buto (or Butto) Giovannini and his epigrams; but they are both included in the *Sonetti del Burchiello* (Londra, 1757, p. 199), the first one beginning *Amico mio, di Femina pavento*; Ferri gives them both as of Pucci (p. 194); and in the *Poesie di A. P.*, IV, p. 292, the first sonnet is given according to Cod. Riccard. 1103, f. 158, which ascribes it to Pucci and gives the first verse as *Sonetto*

1. In *Propugnatore* III, 1, 35-53, from Cod. Magliabechiano II. 335 (formerly XXIII.135), with variants from Cod. Riccardiano 1922; in the *Saggi* cited in the previous note, pp. 371-86, the text is given from Pucci's autograph, Cod. Laur.-Tempiano 2; and the citations here given are from this edition.



*mio di femina pavento*. They are found in several other manuscripts, with many variant readings (see Appendix).

The most elaborately developed *noie*-poem known is the capitolo by Antonio Pucci which is the object of this study. Pucci gives a long series of annoyances in disconnected and epigrammatic form, in terza rima, each *terzina* being a unit by itself beginning *A noia m'è*. In length (316 verses) and in the more or less systematic grouping of the annoyances, this capitolo is distinguished from other examples of the type. Judging by the number of manuscripts, it was the most widely read of all Pucci's writings; and several manuscripts have additions by other hands which are quite foreign to the bland and moralistic spirit of Pucci's text. He was a conventional good citizen, considerate of the rights and feelings of other people, sincere in religion, and respectful of women; his sense of humor, more or less unconscious, seldom carried him beyond the limits of good taste. In these respects the poem which we now have to consider offers a violent contrast to the *Noie*.

An unidentified author of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century composed in terza rima a poem entitled *Il Manganello*, preserved in one manuscript and in two or three extremely rare editions. It consists of thirteen capitoli, averaging a little over 100 verses each. In content and spirit it owes nothing to Pucci, being a virulent invective against women, ostensibly for the purpose of advising a certain Silvestro not to marry. For the most part it narrates one scandalous story after another; but two of the capitoli are made up, like the *Noie*, of disconnected *terzine*: in XI, every *terzina* begins *La femina...*; and in XII every *terzina* except the last three begins, in the Seville manuscript, *Anolgia me...*, in the sixteenth century print, *Anoia à me...* Thus XI suggests the sonnet of Buto Giovannini mentioned above, while XII seems to have been modeled directly on Pucci's *Noie* so far as form is concerned. A more detailed

analysis of *Il Manganello* will be found in the Appendix, with extracts from this little-known poem.

It is not necessary in this connection to go deeply into the various examples of poetry that have more or less analogy in form or in content with the *enuæg*, many of which may be found treated in the two articles of Hill cited above. This literary genre is sometimes spoken of as medieval, and certainly the most characteristic examples of it are from the Middle Ages; but allied types which do not conform to the definition of the *enuæg* and yet resemble it in one way or another appear in many literatures at various periods. Thus poems in which a key-word is repeated at frequent intervals, or those without a repeated key-word but consisting of a list or enumeration, suggest the form of the *enuæg* without the content. And so satires on the one hand, or treatises on etiquette or morals on the other hand, may suggest the content without the characteristic form. Of course it is common for a poet to dilate upon things that annoy or depress him, and to express his melancholy in a form containing some of the features of the *enuæg*. Whereas the authors of typical poems of the genre usually confine their strictures to comparatively trifling annoyances, greater poets are more apt to deal with serious abuses or with the elements of unhappiness and despair. As we shall see in the chapter on "The word *noia*," Leopardi uses the word in an abstract sense to indicate his whole attitude toward the world and his life in it. But in spite of the lines of discussion which these considerations suggest, this is obviously not the place to treat of satirical or pessimistic or didactic or invective literature in general, and we should confine our discussion in the main to examples which conform in some degree to our definition of the *enuæg* or *noie*.

While this literary genre may seem practically extinct as a form of poetry, our brief survey of its history concludes with two recent examples. One is the "Blues", a

form of folk-song which has arisen during the present century among the American negroes and is employed to express the singer's feelings; each "Blues" is epigrammatic in style, and complete in a single stanza of three lines, one of which is a repetition. Thus the element of continuity or series is lacking, but the following "Blues" might well be the beginning of a full-fledged *Noie*:

Dey's two kind of people in dis worl' dat I can't stan';  
 Dey's two kind of people in dis worl' dat I can't stan':  
 An' dat's a two-faced woman an' a monkey-man.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of the *enueg* was originally simply to amuse, whether by satire or by humorous observation of life; but it tended to become didactic, and in Antonio Pucci, as we shall see in the following chapter, both tendencies are to be found. In *A Sea Dirge*, written in 1861 by the author of *Alice in Wonderland*, the humorous purpose emerges without contamination by any more serious intent, as will appear from these stanzas: <sup>2</sup>

There are certain things — as, a spider, a ghost,  
 The income-tax, gout, an umbrella for three —  
 That I hate, but the thing that I hate the most  
 Is a thing they call the Sea.

It is pleasant and dreamy, no doubt, to float  
 With thoughts as boundless and souls as free:  
 But, suppose you are very nuwell on the boat,  
 How do you like the Sea?

If you like your coffee with sand for dregs,  
 A decided hind of salt in your tea,  
 And a fishy taste in the very eggs —  
 By all means choose the Sea.

1. *Blues: an anthology*, edited by W. C. Handy, New York, 1926; see Introduction and p. 11. "Monkey-man," it may be mentioned, means a West-Indian negro. Cf. also *Anthology of American Negro Literature*, New York, Modern Library, 1929, p. 223.

2. *The Collected Verse of Lewis Carroll*, New York, Dutton, 1929, pp. 93-95.

And if, with these dainties to drink and eat,  
 You prefer not a vestige of grass or tree,  
 And a chronic state of wet in your feet,  
 Then — I recommend the Sea.

The enumeration of annoyances diverged from literature into journalism when, within the last few years, certain American newspapers published series of what they called "pet peeves," in which their correspondents stated what things they found particularly annoying. And at last the subject has been scientifically investigated by Professor Hulsey Cason of the University of Rochester, in a paper read at the Congress of Psychology at Yale University in September, 1929, and published in 1930 by the Psychological Review Company: *Common Annoyances: a Psychological Study of Every-day Aversions and Irritations*. According to newspaper reports, a large number of persons were asked to state what annoyed them most; and a list of 507 annoyances, compiled from their replies, was graded according to comparative force. Some of the "hates", according to the psychologist, are inherited aversions, but most of them are learned or acquired, such as a young person showing disrespect to his elders, or a person who crowds ahead of his proper place in line, or one who reads a book over the shoulder of another; and many naturally have to do with eating and drinking. Thus there is a certain correspondence with the pet aversions of Antonio Pucci and other medieval writers who have used such material in poetical compositions. In the future some poet may be inspired to compose a modern *Noie*, and it would be rash to assert that as a literary form the *Noie* is entirely and permanently obsolete.

#### 4. — ANALYSIS OF PUCCI'S *Noie* AND ITS RELATION TO OTHER WORKS

Pucci's capitolo conforms to the definition of the *noie*-type: it consists of a disconnected series of "annoyances",



each one expressed in a single *terzina*; each *terzina* (after the first five) begins *A noia...*, and is complete in itself. But whereas other examples of the type exhibit not only lack of continuity but lack of any systematic arrangement of the subject-matter, Pucci has to a certain extent grouped his annoyances according to a plan, although within the several groups no plan is apparent. While the *terzine* are of course linked by rhyme, they are separable units according to the sense: it is not difficult for anyone wishing to add or omit *terzine*, or change the order, to adjust the rhyme to suit his purpose. On the other hand, the grouping furnishes a criterion for distinguishing the original form and substance from the innovations.

Taking the text of the Kirkup manuscript as the standard, we find the following general scheme of grouping:<sup>1</sup> *terzine* 1-5, prologue; 6-16, behavior in church and in the presence of death; 17-40, breaches of ordinary courtesy or morality; 41-67, table-manners, eating and drinking; 68-104, social intercourse and family relations; 105, a warning not to change the *noie* and not to add new ones, under pain of Pucci's anger. The first three sections after the prologue are relatively uniform and consistent; but in the fourth section the items are thrown together at haphazard, and some of them would be better placed in one of the other sections. However, as we shall see when we come to the classification of manuscripts, the interpolations and omissions in certain manuscripts are not confined to this final section of the *Noie*, and they sometimes break up Pucci's plan of arrangement. There are in the text no indications of any separation into sections or groups.

The usual invocation occupies *terzine* 1-2; in 3-5 the

1. R. T. Hill in *PMLA*, XXVII, pp. 287-91, discussed Pucci, and divided the *noie* into "special classes according as they refer to religion, politeness, social relations, or table manners"; his division is naturally similar to the one here set forth. He used the text of *Poesie di A. P.*, which is based on a good manuscript, but lacks four of the *terzine* of the Kirkup text.

poet expresses his didactic purpose: although he himself may be guilty of most of the ugly actions that he reproves, nevertheless he urges his readers to learn from the poem to abandon the vices that annoy him. He begins his enumeration by condemning evil habits in church: lack of reverence to the host or to the mass; discussing worldly affairs or flirting with women in church; falling asleep during the sermon; buying holy candles as a joke; the ousting of one beggar by another; and sneering or laughing while accompanying a dead body. This last item (16) forms a transition to the second section, which is more general in character: failure to mind one's own business; judging the worth of a man by his clothes; reproving others for one's own faults; monopolizing the conversation; claiming credit for what another has done; wearing fine clothes and leaving one's father destitute; telling secrets; lying, insincerity and blasphemy. The next section (41-67) concerns invitations, and breaches of table-etiquette: bringing others along when one is invited to the tavern to drink; following others to the tavern without being invited, in the hope of getting a free drink; coming to the table without washing one's hands and mouth; failure to greet a guest or to return a greeting at table; when one has taken a morsel of food in the mouth, spitting it out or putting it back on the platter; cracking nuts with the teeth; talking with one's mouth full, or telling coarse stories at table; the host's whispering to the servant, since all arrangements ought to be made beforehand; the servant's talking while waiting on table; drinking soup like a pig; urging the wife of one's host to eat or drink; and finally, not accepting a glass of wine when it is offered, but saying "You take it."<sup>1</sup> With this *terzina* (67) we have a transition to the more miscellaneous fourth

1. This idea of giving orders to someone in his own house, a mistaken form of politeness, is the basis of Pucci's canzone "Un gentiluom di Roma una fiata," discussed above. Cf. Francesco da Barberino, *Documenti d'Amore*, ed. Egidi, I, p. 121.

section, which begins (68) by protesting against the custom (again a mistaken effort to be polite) of saying "You go first," so that everybody waits for everybody else, and no one moves. The following items concern lack of consideration for one's companions, as when two in a group of three talk secretly, paying no more attention to the third than if he were an ox; or when a man leaves you without saying goodbye, "as I myself have sometimes been left," in Pucci's words. Others revert to table-manners: cutting something dirty with a bread-knife, and then cutting bread with it (75); filling wine-glasses too often (81); sopping bread in a glass, or eating publicly on fast-days (100); a host so gloomy that he spoils his feast and loses his friends (101). It is a sad custom, Pucci thinks, to put your hand in your purse as if you intended to pay, and then let someone else do it (96). Terzine 76-79 treat invitations; evidently Pucci and his friends were inclined to be hospitable: to invite a man to eat or drink and then allow him to pay — that is a Prato invitation;<sup>1</sup> to revoke an invitation once given, to fail to keep an appointment, these also are annoying practices. Other *terzine* mention more or less intimate matters, including the relations of a man with his wife and his relatives; also mere casual occurrences, such as the typically Italian habit of stopping to talk in the middle of the street and blocking the traffic (94). Very few of the annoyances enumerated by Pucci are to be found in other poems of the type, and in general they seem to be the result of the poet's own experience or observation; in this respect they correspond to the content of many of his sonnets and other poems. If Pucci knew, for instance, the poems ascribed to Girardo Patecchio, he apparently in-

1. Terz. 76: "invitata pratese." No explanation of the origin of this phrase has been found, that given in the dictionaries being obviously derived from this passage in the *Noie*; for instance, the Tommaseo e Bellini quotes *terzina* 76, after defining as follows: "Pratese suol dirsi di chi invita altrui, e poi fa ch'egli paghi l'invito, lo che usano que' di Prato."

tended to avoid any repetition from that writer, and it is ridiculous to call the *Noie* a "rifacimento" of the earlier work. Of course, many of the things mentioned by him are mentioned by other writers as well. A complete study of the subject, with comparison of the *Noie* and other didactic or satirical works of the period, would carry us too far; but a number of references to the *Noie*, and several partial parallels, may now be presented.

The most interesting reference to the *Noie* is that made by Pucci himself in his *Zibaldone*; and this reference is one of the conclusive reasons for believing the *Zibaldone* to be the work of Pucci. The reference occurs in all four of the relatively complete manuscripts; and in 1904 it was published<sup>1</sup> from the three manuscripts then known, which are of the fifteenth century. To the great courtesy of Professor Enrico Rostagno, director of the Laurentian and Riccardian libraries, I owe the following literal extract from the original autograph of the *Zibaldone*, identified by Dr. Morpurgo in Cod. Laurenziano-Tempiano 2. In that portion of the text which discusses the *doveri* of various classes of people, — *preti, vescovi, religiosi, cardinali, il Papa, signore, mercatante, medico, giudice, notaro*, etc., — the paragraph concerning the duties of *donzelli* ends as follows (f. 139r; old number, 138r):

& in tutti loro detti & fatti debbono esser onesti & veritieri & non bugiardi. & nota che nelle noie nostre dice cosi  
 Annoia molto me chi e bugiardo.  
 Pongnan che ne vendetta quando giura.  
 Che chil conosce gli crede piu tardo.

These verses are *terzina* 28 in our text of the *Noie*, and except for insignificant orthographic variants, the reading is identical with that of the Kirkup manuscript. In the manuscripts of the *Zibaldone* cited by Lazzeri<sup>2</sup> the read-

1. By Ghino Lazzeri, "Sull'autenticità dello 'Zibaldone' attribuito ad Antonio Pucci," in *GSLI*, XLIV, 104-16.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 112.



ing is likewise the same (except that Cod. Magl. has *giunta*, an error for *giura*). The words immediately preceding the verses, however, vary; they read as follows in the three manuscripts:

Cod. Ricc. 1922, f. 158v :

e nota che nelle leggie nostre dicie cosi.

Cod. Magliab. II, 335 (formerly XXIII, 135), f. 68v:

et nota che nelle Noie nostre dicie cosi.

Cod. Palatino 678 (Bib. Naz. di Firenze), f. 111v:

Del bugiardo.

With these same verses quoted from the *Noie* may be compared an anonymous sonnet (unpublished, so far as I am aware) contained in Cod. Laurenziano XC. inf. 47, f. 114v; it is preceded in the same column by Petrarca's *Solo pensoso in piu deserti chanpi* (*sic*) and is followed by another anonymous sonnet. Unfortunately, verse 6 is blotted and partly illegible (in the preceding column of the same page, another sonnet has been completely blotted out). The reference in verse 9 to the *libro delle noie* and its mention of the *bugiardo* is evidence of the wide diffusion of Pucci's poem, for this sonnet is certainly not by him. The use of the verb *manganare* in verse 16 is extraordinarily interesting, in view of the title given to the satirical poem *Il Manganello* (see Appendix), although there is not necessarily any connection.

#### Sonetto

Giamai non morde il can che troppo abaia:  
così fa quel ch'è gran milantatore,  
che dice "i' feci" e "fo" a tutte l'ore,  
di gran bugie una piena caldaia.  
Non fu mai meretrice tanto ghaia  
cholla sua..... alla pien d'errore  
la verità mordendo a tutte l'ore,  
senpre gracchiando chom una ghiandaia.

Ma come dice i' libro delle noie  
 che a bugiardo non si uol dar fede,  
 giurando perde sue virtuti e gioie,  
 però che chi'l conosce non li crede;  
 chon tutto il suo ghignare e con suo moie,  
 a ciaschun ora questo i'llui si uede.

Dunque saria mercede  
 Cotai gente farle manganare  
 Acciò che' buoni non facessino errare.<sup>1</sup>

In several of his sonnets Pucci condemns lying and praises truth-telling. One of the sonnets (No. 8) of the *Arte del dire in rima* begins:

Pensato quello che voi dir, ancora  
 Non dir s'egli è contra la veritade.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, in the sonnets on the behavior of young men he says:

Leal, veritiero e mantenga credenza  
 Di quel che sente, non dica fallenza.

(*Se 'l giovane vuol esser costumato*

Usa la veritade in ogni lato.

(*Figliuol mio sie leale e costumato*

..... e non sia mentitore.

(*Il giovane che vuol avere onore*

E de' bugiardi fuggir la malizia.

(*Ascolti ogniun che vuole innamorare*

We may also compare the "versi fece Anto. Pucci per li bugiardi," beginning:

Piaggiando parla ciaschun che favella.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. these verses in a capitolo entitled *Medicine* (*Sonetti del Burchiello*, Londra, 1757, p. 181):

E del canto torrai d'una ghiandaja  
 E un bicchier di busso di gualchiere,  
 E l'alito d'un can quand' egli abbaja.

2. Ed. d'Ancona in *Miscellanea Caix-Canello*; Ferri, p. 171.

3. See Ferri, pp. 122, 140, 188-89, 149. With these condemna-

Pucci's sonnet *Molto mi piace la bella accoglienza* reads like an expansion of the following *terzina* (89) of the *Noie*:

A noia m'è chi se profera presto,  
mostrando disedier che'l chaso naschi,  
po' si naschonde quando gli è richiesto.

Compare especially verses 5-11 of the sonnet (Ferri, p. 128; from Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145):

Ma far le gran careze e reverenza  
Pigliandoti ghignando per la mano,  
Ancor dicendoti all'orecchio piano:  
'Comanda, ch'i' son tuo senza fallenza':  
E poi quando tu vieni a pregarlo  
Di tal servizio che non monta un fico  
Ed e' tel niega e fuggie per non farlo...

Similarly, another sonnet may be compared with that portion of the *Noie* which deals with eating, drinking, and table-manners, and especially *terzina* 58. This sonnet is found with Pucci's name in Cod. Riccard. 1103, f. 70v, and anonymous in Cod. Laurenz. SS. Ann. 122, f. 249. It was printed in 1775 in *Poesie*, and reprinted therefrom in 1817 and, with changes, by Ferri in 1909.<sup>1</sup> Since several verses, unless emended, are imperfect metrically and obscure in meaning, and since the published text is garbled and in part unintelligible, it seems worth while to present here the text exactly as it reads in Riccard., with no changes except separation of words, and punctuation: the significant variants of Laurenz. and of the editions being added below. A comparison with the *Noie* shows that the orthog-

tions of lying may be compared a text which Pucci presumably knew (see below), Brunetto Latini's *Tesoro* (ed. Gaiter, III, pp. 82-84): L'uomo veritiere è da lodare, e l'uomo bugiardo si è da vituperare, ecc. We may compare also the words of Giovanni della Casa in his *Galateo*, cap. XIII (ed. Scoti-Bertinelli, Torino, 1921, p. 79): A lungo andare i bugiardi non solamente non sono creduti; ma essi non sono ascoltati.

1. *Poesie di A. P.*, IV, p. 286; *Raccolta di rime antiche toscane*, Palermo, 1817, III, p. 300; Ferri, p. 200.

raphy of Riccard. corresponds very closely to that of the Kirkup manuscript.

*Soneto d'antonio puci*

Molto mi spiacie e chredo che dispiacia  
 quando moltti a scioluere o merenda  
 ch'alcun da chantto di lor chose prenda  
 e l'alttro e l'alttro seguitti la tracia;  
 se u'è lì chose ch'a lor piacia,  
 uadi là doue se ne uenda,  
 non pensi paghar l'oste e fa l'amenda  
 del falo suo diciendo: "Pro ui facia."  
 Cche rifiutar dourebe lo 'nuitatto,  
 no che sanza inuittar tore a la ciela  
 quel che no u'è per lui aparechiatto;  
 ma pur s'alchuno per diletto morseła,  
 non aspetti d'esser chondanatto  
 nel mezo quartto ouer la metadela.  
 Ch'è chiaro chome stela,  
 chatiuo chostume egli è in ogni partte;  
 che ttristo facia Idio chi fa tal arte!<sup>1</sup>

For the sake of comparison with the sonnet we may quote here *terzina* 58 of the *Noie* :

A noia m'è chi non chura pasare  
 da latto del compagno sul tagliere  
 quando vede bochon che buon li pare.

1. In verse 2, Laur. reads *Quando à molti*, eds. *son molti*; *sciolvere*, "breakfast" or "lunch," occurs in *Centiloquio* LXXXIV, *terz.* 54. In verse 4, eds. *e l'altro all'altro*, but the reading of mss. can stand. Verses 5 and 6 are short in Ricc., although the meaning is clear; they read in Laur.: *Sedeva chosa che di quel li piaccia vada la dove e si se ne venda*; 5 eds. *Se v'è lì cosa ched a loro piaccia*; 6 *Poesie* : *Vada chi vuol là, dove se ne venda*, Ferri: *Vada là dove e si se ne venda*. 7 Laur. *far*, eds. *far la menda*. 10 Laur. *torre alla cella*; the phrase *a la ciela* means "at the tavern" (see Glossary, s.v. *cella*), but the 1775 editor, misreading it as *a l'ascella*, changed it "per miglior senso" to *mascella*, rhyming (as Laur.) with *morsella*:*metadella*:*stella*; Ferri restores *a l'ascella*. 13 Laur. *Non si aspetti*; eds. *E' non s'aspetti*. 14 Laur. *Il mezo*; *Poesie*: *o neila metadella*, Ferri: *o aver la metadella*. *Metadella* is of course a wine measure; it occurs in the last stanza of the *Contrasto delle Donne* (D'Ancona, *Saggi di lett. pop.*, p. 370). *Morsella* is explained in *Poesie*, IV, p. xxiii, as a verb, the diminutive of *mordere*. 16 Laur. *Tristo chostume*.



Pucci particularly disapproved of persons who blame in others the faults which they themselves have. In a sonnet of the *Arte del dire in rima* (No. 7; Ferri, p. 170) he remarks :

Se d'alcun vizio biasimi persone,  
Guarda ch'in te non si possa trovare ;

and the same idea appears in the *Noie* (terzina 20) :

A noia m'è vedere un schostumatto  
di riprendere altrui del falo ch'eli  
è più di quel cotale invilupatto.

Already (terzine 3, 4) our moralist has included himself among those worthy of blame :

Riprender voglio alchun bruto chostume,  
benche la magior partte me ne tochi  
di que' che fiano in questo mio volume.  
None schusando me, dibaso gli ochi...

In the *Arte del dire in rima* Pucci used as a source of inspiration for many of the precepts, ethical rather than rhetorical, no less an authority than the *Tresor* of Brunetto Latini, in the portion which in turn was based on the *Ars loquendi et tacendi* of Albertano da Brescia. In the present case the words of Ser Brunetto, in the thirteenth-century Italian translation, which Pucci presumably followed, are the following: " Se tu voli biasimare o riprendere altrui, guarda che tu non sia magagnato di quello vizio medesimo ; chè istrania cosa è di vedere il busco <sup>1</sup> nell'altrui occhio, e nei suoi non veder la trave." <sup>2</sup> This final phrase, obviously

1. The proper form for 'mote' is *brusco* (modern word, *bruscolo*).

2. See D'Ancona in *Miscellanea Caix-Canello*, pp. 293-303; Ferri, pp. 49, 171. Text quoted from *Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni*, ed. Gaiter, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1878-83, Vol. III, p. 253. Text of Albertano and indications of its sources in T. Sundby, *Della vita e delle opere di B. Latini*, trad. Renier, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1884, p. 475 ff.; see also *Dei Trattati morali di Albertano da Brescia volgarizzamento inedito fatto nel 1268 da Andrea da Grosseto*, ed. F. Solmi, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1873, p. 5.

Biblical, is reflected in Pucci's sonnet *Volessi Iddio che tutti i maldicenti*, of which the sixth verse reads:

Che veggon l'altrui brusco e non lor trave.<sup>1</sup>

Another of Pucci's sonnets,<sup>2</sup> composed of sixteen *versi tronchi* and somewhat obscure in meaning, is in itself a brief example of the *Noie*-form. The first verse reads:

Ai quanto mi dispiace quand' i' sto;

verses 9 and 10:

E quanto mi dispiace veder giù  
Cadere i buoni sanz' alcun perchè;

verse 15:

Molto m'è a nnoia el dir 'ben gli sta'.

With *terzina* 22 of the *Noie*,

A noia m'è chiunque ronpe il detto  
ad alchun, sia chi vuol, quando ragiona,  
però ch'al mio parere è ghran difetto,

is to be compared an unpublished sonnet in Cod. Laurenziano XC. inf. 47, f. 112v (old number, 110), apparently addressed to a company of friends rather than to an individual named Brigata; the sonnet is anonymous in the manuscript, but suggests the style of Pucci. In addition to the citation from the *Noie*, the reader will note the request for a sonnet (cf. Pucci's sonnet "Deh, fammi una

1. First published by Ferri, p. 147, from Cod. Magliab. VII. 1168. An anonymous sonnet in Cod. Parmense 1081, f. 118, begins "Tu ch'ai la buscha nell'occhio risponde" (see Costa in *GSLI*, XII, p. 107).

2. First printed by Ferri, p. 121, from Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, f. 76v; for several corrections of Ferri's readings, see G. Lazzeri in *RBLI*, XVII, 99 (Ferri gives verse 15 as: *Molto me annoia e'l dir ben gli sta*). This sonnet, contrary to what Ferri says (p. 44), has no particular connection in subject-matter with any part of the *Noie*; but the use of *mi dispiace* and *m'è a nnoia* is noteworthy.

canzon, fammi un sonetto," Ferri, p. 184), and the convivial ending. If this sonnet was really composed on the spur of the moment, and after the *bicchieri* had been filled at least once, these circumstances may explain the metrical deficiencies: a verse lacking before the coda; and several verses too short and not entirely clear in meaning. This is the text of the manuscript:

Brighata, da poi che m'avete pregato  
 Che 'n cortesia vi dica un sonetto,  
 A noia m'è chi mi ronpe il detto,  
 E ssia chi vuole, egli è mal costumato.  
 I' mi son più volte trovato  
 Chon più brighata da trarmi diletto;  
 Assai ne truovo ch'anno quel difetto,  
 Ma ss'i' fallassi siemi perdonato.  
 Quanti non sian qui no sian tutti parenti,  
 Nati d'un padre e d'una madre santa;  
 Chosì ci aiuti Iddio con sanchimenti.  
 Chi nel parlar troppo si milanta  
 Dispiace a Ddio e ancora alle gienti.  
 No sian brigata francha:  
 E ssian venuti qui pur per godere;  
 Risciaqua que' bicchieri e dacci bere !

"Brigata", whether the name of a person or not, is used in the *Noie*, terz. 74:

A noia m'è che meser di brighatta  
 faccia chondanagion tantto vilane  
 ch'alchun si schochi, ond' ela sia turbata;

or, according to *Poesie di A. P.* in the last verse:

s'alcun si cruccia, la festa è turbata.

Questions of table etiquette were a frequent subject for treatment in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; for instance, which end of the table is the head? This question is discussed by Pucci in a sonnet beginning:

Molti fanno quistion qual sia la testa  
 Della tavola, ed è bella proposta;

E chi fa per un modo risposta,  
Chi per un altro, e lla quistion non resta...<sup>1</sup>

There were formal treatises on table-manners, such as the well known *De quinquaginta curialitatibus ad mensam* by Bonvesin da Riva already cited, of which verses 3-4 read (Monaci, *Crestomazia*, pp. 399-404):

De cortes e cinquanta ke se den servir al desco  
Fra Bonvesin da la Riva ven parla mo de fresco.

Several of the rules for conduct given in this poem anticipate Pucci's *Noie*; for instance: do not cross your legs or sprawl on the table (verses 24-28; cf. *Noie*, terz. 50, 59); do not eat too fast or talk with your mouth full (verses 33-40, 146); wipe your mouth before drinking (verse 42; *Noie* 43,44); do not sop your bread in wine if you drink from the same cup as Fra Bonvesin (verse 93; *Noie* 100); do not announce bad news at table (verse 153; *Noie* 52); do not leave the table unless it is absolutely necessary (verse 61; *Noie* 64). Other treatises of the same sort give in various languages similar rules. A far more elaborate treatment, covering conduct under all sorts of conditions, is found in the works of Francesco da Barberino, which we shall now consider briefly in comparison with the *Noie* and other poems of Pucci.

The *Documenti d'Amore* by Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348), completed probably in 1313, is now available in an accurate edition based on two autograph manuscripts preserved in the Vatican Library.<sup>2</sup> It consists of an Italian poem in various metres, accompanied throughout by a literal translation and an extended commentary

1. First printed by Ferri, p. 127, from Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145; several errors are pointed out by Lazzeri, *l. c.*

2. *Documenti d'Amore di Francesco da Barberino secondo i manoscritti originali* a cura di Francesco Egidi, 4 volumi, Società Filologica Romana, 1902-27: text in Vols. I-III; prefazione, glossari, indici, ecc., in Vol. IV.



in Latin prose, and is divided into a *prohemium* and twelve *partes*. It is largely a series of precepts arranged according to a definite scheme, but, like the *Noie*, disconnected. Francesco's other important work, *Reggimento e Costumi di donna*,<sup>1</sup> sometimes called "galateo muliebre," is likewise didactic but is less epigrammatic in style. Francesco was a man of keen power of observation, and like Pucci he throws much light on the manners and morals of the time. He has not yet been sufficiently studied as to the content of his works and their relation to other writings of similar type. The portion of his poems that is particularly important for comparison with Pucci is Part I of the *Documenti*, concerning "Docilitate." As Francesco says (*ed. cit.*, I, p. 8):

La prima che noviçi  
doce schivar li viçi,  
e la seconda in le virtù intrare.

This part is divided into twenty-seven *documenti*, "teachings," and the Italian text is in a continuous metre somewhat like that of the serventese: four-verse stanzas of alternating settenari and endecasillabi, rhyming aBbC, cDdE, etc. The metre is not continuous in most of the remaining parts. In expressing his disapproval he naturally uses such words as *noia*, *noioso*, *dispiacere*; but they are not inserted at regular intervals as in the *Noie*, and many of the precepts are positive rather than negative. In *Documento xxii* (*ed. cit.*, I, 274):

Sescalco vantadore  
dispiace, et anco il lento e 'l frettoloso;  
et a tutti è noioso  
il bisbigliar e 'l consigliar in sala.

1. Ed. Baudi di Vesme, Bologna, 1875. Cf. Ramiro Ortiz, "Il 'Reggimento' del Barberino ne' suoi rapporti colla letteratura didattico-morale degli 'ensenhamens'," in *ZRP*, XXVIII (1904), 550-70, 649-75; A. Thomas, *Francesco da Barberino et la littérature provençale en Italie au moyen âge*, Paris, 1883; G. B. Festa, *Un Galateo femminile italiano del Trecento*, Bari, 1910; and Hill in *PMLA*, XXX, 56.

With this may be compared *Noie*, terz. 55, 56, and a verse in the *Reggimento* (*ed. cit.*, p. 126 ; D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, I, 273):

Non si intrametta riprender chi serve.

Documento VIII (*ed. cit.*, I, 120 ff.) concerns manners at table :

La terça costumança  
che ti convien a tavola servare  
porai così pigliare,  
da questi pochi gli altri tu pensando.

Several items suggest Pucci:

E colui che fa lievo  
di quel che no li piace... (cf. *Noie*, terz. 47) ;  
Nè mi par mica bella  
l' osso tirar co' denti... (cf. *Noie*, terz. 48, 49);  
Mal fa la man che corre  
a prender de' comuni magior partita,  
e più chi ben non vita  
giacer, o gamba sor gamba tenere (cf. *Noie*, 50);  
E convien provvedere  
che qui parlar ti convien poco e breve,  
nè qui tractar si deve  
d'altro che netto et allegro dilecto (cf. *Noie*, 52; and

*Documenti*, II, p. 122, as well as I, p. 276):

A tavola conviensi  
novelle rie o laide non portare.

Documento VIII concerns behavior in church, with parallels especially to *Noie*, terz. 8 and 15; and here we may compare stanzas LXXIII and LXXIV of Pucci's *Contrasto delle donne*, and a sermon by Franco Sacchetti, who bursts out sarcastically: "Per queste parole si può comprendere come li viventi uomeni e donne son divoti al tempo d'oggi nelli templi di Dio." <sup>1</sup> One more quotation from Francesco da Barberino must suffice here:

1. *Contrasto*, see D'Ancona, *Saggi di lett. pop.*, p. 368; sermon, see *I Sermoni evangelici, le lettere ed altri scritti inediti o rari di Franco Sacchetti*, ed. O. Gigli, Firenze, 1857, p. 22.

E l'uom che tutti i segni  
 passa vantando, e sol di sè parlando;  
 e colui che cantando  
 va quando tutta l'altra gente plange  
 (ed. cit., I, 156; cf. *Noie*, terz. 72, 102).

Recalling the verse quoted above: "da questi pochi gli altri tu pensando," we may raise the question whether Pucci knew the writings of Barberino. The similarities noted are not a sufficient basis for answering this question; but it is possible that a study of Pucci's *Zibaldone* might throw light on it.

Pucci was much concerned with the training of children and the proper behavior of young people, as is shown by many of his sonnets; and these sonnets may be compared to treatises like those of lo Schiavo di Bari and Francesco da Barberino on the one hand, and to the *Noie* on the other. It is easy to turn didactic precepts or poems for or against women into series of things approved, disapproved, or annoying by their absence. Investigation along this line would carry us far from our main subject; but we may enumerate sonnets by Pucci, or ascribed to him, which are interesting in this connection, some of which are more fully discussed in other parts of this study. One well known sonnet which gives advice as to parental discipline may be compared with these verses in the *Dottrina dello Schiavo di Bari* (Zambrini's edition, *Scelta*, XI, pp. 16, 18):

Se hai figliuolo, e vedi che sia rio,  
 Non vi ponare speme, nè disio...

Or vi dirò che disse Salamone:  
 Se hai figliuol maschio per nulla stagione,  
 Or lo gastiga mentre ch'è garzone,  
 E pollo ad arte;

and with a passage in Genoese dialect, beginning:

*De puero amonendo in fantia per patrem*

Chi so fiio no castiga  
 Ni fer fim che 'l è fantim,  
 Pu crexando un pochetim  
 Mai no gi tem drita riga...<sup>1</sup>

The sonnet is found with various readings in ten or more manuscripts, and has been several times printed; <sup>2</sup> we give here the text according to Cod. Laur. XC. inf. 47, f. 114v, with the interesting variants of six other manuscripts.

### Sonetto

- Quando il fanciullo da piccholo scioccheggia,  
 gastigalo cholla schopa e con parole;  
 e da sett'anni in su e' pur si vuole  
 adoperar la ferça e lla choreggia.  
 5 Da quindici anni in su se pur folleggia,  
 toglì il bastone, chè altro no gli duole;  
 dagliene tante che llà dove suole  
 disubidir, perdonança ti chieggia.  
 9 E da vent' anni in su se pur ti da faticha,  
 mettilo in prigione, se tte ne chale,  
 e ivi un anno o ppiù si vel notricha;  
 12 e da trent' anni in su se pur fa male,  
 amicho mio, non vi durar faticha,  
 chè uom di trent' anni gastigar non vale.  
 Partil da tte chotale,  
 16 Benche ti sia gran duolo,  
 e fa ragion che non sia tuo figliuolo.<sup>3</sup>

1. N. Lagomaggiore, "Rime genovesi della fine del secolo xiii e del principio del xiv" in *AGI*, II (1876), No. 40, p. 213.

2. As of Burchiello, *Sonetti*, Londra, 1757, p. 201; as of Pucci by Volpi, *Rime di trecentisti minori*, p. 108 (and reprinted by Ferri, p. 203) from Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, in which it is in the group of sonnets ascribed to Pucci. Cod. Riccard. 1091 ascribes it to Piero di Dante; but it is certainly by Pucci, since he inserted it in his *Zibaldone* with the heading: "ti voglio dire un sonnettello di nostro legname." From Cod. Riccard. 1922 of the *Zib.* it was published by Graf in *GSLI*, I, pp. 288, 521; and it is also in other mss. of the *Zib.*: Laur.-Tempiano 2 and Magliab. II. 335. It is anonymous in the following mss.: Riccard. 931 and 1126; Laur. XC inf. 47; Laur. SS. Ann. 122; Magliab. II. 40; Vat. 4787; Chigi L. rv. 131. Cf. *RBLI*, I, 61; *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli archivi*, IX, 17-19; Crocioni, *Le Rime di Piero Alighieri*, 1903, p. 34; and Davidsohn, *Firenze ai tempi di Dante*, pp. 199, 643-47.

3. Variants of Cod. Riccard. 1922, f. 155r, ed. Graf (Z); Cod.



More closely allied to the *Noie* are the sonnets in which Pucci lays down precepts for young men and women. Most noteworthy of these is "Il giovane che vuol avere onore," which in two manuscripts and in the Imola incunabulum follows the *Noie*; it is quoted in full in "Additions to the Text." With it may be compared these verses from *La Dottrina dello Schiavo di Bari*, which accompanies the sonnet and the *Noie* in one manuscript (ed. Zambrini, p. 21):

Figlio, quando tu odi ben parlare,  
Odi e intendi e ascolta e non gridare,  
E di saper risponder dei pensare  
Se ti bisogna.

Similar to this sonnet, which occurs in a large number of manuscripts, is another which occurs in two, and was first printed by Ferri (p. 140) from Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, f. 77r (in the group ascribed to Pucci); corrected by reference to the manuscripts, it reads as follows, with variants from Cod. VIII. C. 8 of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples:

Se 'l giovane vuol esser costumato  
Convien c'abbi vergogna e reverenza,  
E presto sia con vera ubidienza  
Del ben che da ciascun gli è comandato;

Magliab. VII. 1145, f. 82v, ed. Volpi (M); Cod. Laur. SS. Ann. 122, f. 240 (L); Cod. Riccard. 1126, f. 111v (R); Cod. Vat. 4787, f. 140v (V); Cod. Chigi L. iv. 131, p. 677 (C), as follows:

1 Z f. piccholino; L *Sel tuo figliuol*, R *Sun tou filliol*. 3 ZMC *e passati i sette anni si si vuole*; L *fa chome suole*. 5 ZMC *E sse passati i quindici*. 6 ZMVC *fa collo bastone*; R *trova*. 7 ZMLRVC *e tante gle ne da che dove*. 9 Z *E sse da venti in su bene non fa*, without rhyme; M *E se ne veni ancor ben far nimica*; LRC *E se da vinti ti fa la ficha*. 10 ZLRC *fallo mettere*. 11 Z(LC) *e ivi magro*; MR *di poco*. 9-11 V *Et se ne vinti pur seguitar male / Et tul meiti in pregon ella nutrica / Piu e piu anni se de lui ten cale*. 12 Z *se nel cavassi e facesse pure male*; MLRC *E se n trenta e facesse pur male*; V *Et se in trenta pur seguita male*. 13 L *fratello mio*. 15 omitted LV. 16 ZMC *Chent essere si vuole bene che tti sia gran duolo*; R *Il mel che poy benche*; LV *Partil da tte benche*. 17 ZRC *non ti sia figliuolo*.

The reading in the edition of Burchiello's sonnets is not identical with any of the above, but is similar to that of Z.

- 5 Humile senza sdegno, e temperato,  
 Leal, veritiero, e mantenga credenza,  
 Di quel che sente non dica fallenza,  
 E della bocca sia ben regolato.
- 9 Dal vin si guardi e da vane meretrice,  
 Dal giuoco della zara e mal usanza,  
 Però che son de' vizi ogni radice.
- 12 Chi queste cose fa, per certo avanza,  
 E nel suo tempo diventa filice  
 E grazioso con tal nominanza  
 Che vive per baldanza,
- 16 Acquistando virtù per suo diletto  
 E di bene in meglio diventa perfetto.<sup>1</sup>

In two other sonnets Pucci addresses himself to "Figliuol mio" and "Figliuola mia," whether his own son and daughter or not, is not certain. The former sonnet, "Figliuol mio, sie leale e costumato," is parallel to "Il giovane che vuol avere onore"; it recommends tactfulness, respect for older people, moderation in eating and drinking, with a final couplet, <sup>2</sup>

E sopra ogni altra cosa sta in disio  
 Sempre d'amare e di temere Iddio,

similar to that of "Il giovane":

D'amici s'armi e sia onesto e pio,  
 E sopra tutto ami e tema Iddio.

The other sonnet just mentioned begins: <sup>3</sup>

1. First and last verses of the Naples ms. published by Miola in *Propugnatore* XIV. i. 383 (1881); variants: 1 *Sel giovane*. 2 *conuien cambia*. 6 *Leale e verietere tenga bon credenza*. 7 *quel che ode*. 10 *Chel zuogho della azara e mala usanza*. 15 Ferri reads *Che ride*, but both mss. have *vive*. Professor S. L. Levengood kindly copied the text for me in Naples.

2. This sonnet was printed as of Burchiello, *Sonetti*, Londra, 1757, p. 194; as of Saviozzo by A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, I (1839), p. 687; as of Pucci by Ferri, p. 188. It is contained among Pucci's sonnets in Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, f. 86r; and anonymous in Laur. XC inf. 47; Magliab. II. 40; Chigi L. iv. 131; Naples, Bib. Naz., Cod. VIII. C. 8. In the last named it begins: "Or fa che si leale e costumatu," but otherwise it is close to the other texts. Cf. Miola, *l. c.*, and G. Volpi in *GSLI*, XV, p. 48.

3. Volpi, *Rime di trecentisti*, p. 110 (reprinted by Ferri, p. 188).

Figliuola mia, poi che sei maritata,  
 Chonvienti far ragion di rinnovare  
 De' modi e de' costumi che suoi fare  
 Con le fanciulle con cui sei usata...

With it in the Laur. and Magliab. mss. is another sonnet beginning:<sup>1</sup>

Amico mio, da poi ch'hai tolto moglie,  
 Far ti convien ragion che tu rinaschi  
 E come per l'adrieto non t'infraschi  
 In quella vanità ch'onor ci toglie...

With this may be associated the two sonnets "In verità che gran vergogna torna," and "Le schiave hanno vantaggio in ciascun atto,"<sup>2</sup> and the sonnet in defense of women, discussed elsewhere in this study. The sonnet "Ascolti ogniun che vuole innamorare" (Ferri, p. 122) enumerates the qualities desirable in a lover, — good manners, modesty, affability without too much talking, — and it may be compared with *terzine* 25-34 of the *Noie*. The sonnet "Da molti savi è lodato il tacere" corresponds with *terzine* 25 and 91 of the *Noie* (Ferri, p. 123). With exhortations to use moderation in eating and drinking, incidentally mentioned above, we may compare a sonnet beginning (Ferri, p. 141):<sup>3</sup>

Sì come 'l vino all'uomo è molto sano  
 Bevendone tanto quanto si conviene,  
 Così genera 'l corpo molte pene  
 Il troppo bere o vermiglio o trebbiano.

from Cod. Laur. SS. Ann. 122, f. 250r; also in Magliab. VII. 1145 and Riccard. 1103. Published *per nozze* by G. Donati, 1884.

1. Volpi, *op. cit.*, p. 109 (Ferri, p. 179), from Laur. SS. Ann. 122. Ascribed to Pucci in Magliab VII. 1145 and Laur. XC sup. 89; anon. in other mss., and ascribed to Niccolò Povero in one; see Ezio Levi, "Le paneruzzole di Niccolò Povero," in *Studi Medievali* III, 81-108, and in *Poesia di popolo e poesia di corte nel Trecento*, Livorno, 1915, p. 79.

2. Ferri, pp. 191, 196; Volpi, p. 111; Morpurgo in *RivCLI*, II, 57-59; Barbi in *Studi Danteschi*, IX, 159-60; Zanelli, *Le Schiave orientali a Firenze*, Firenze, 1885, pp. 80, 91.

3. Cf. *RBLI*, XVI (1908), pp. 133-37.

A sonnet in which the word *virtù* is repeated in every verse, "Fior di virtù si è gentil coraggio," is ascribed to Pucci in Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, f. 80v; but it has been ascribed to various other poets as well — even, in Cod. Canon. 13 of the Bodleian, to "Dante Aldichieri." It gives a list of desirable qualities.<sup>1</sup>

Enough data have been presented to show that the ideas and ideals expressed in the *Noie* are by no means exceptional, but on the contrary thoroughly characteristic not only of Pucci himself as a typical Florentine of the middle class, but of many of his contemporaries. And it is evident that these ideas and ideals were widely diffused for a considerable length of time.

### 5. — THE WORD *Noia*

The title of Pucci's capitolo is repeatedly given in the manuscripts as *Noie* or *Le Noie*. In ms. A (see below for list of manuscripts), the rubric is *Noye*; in M, *Le Noie dantonio pucci*; in K and T, *cominciano le noie*; in O, *Queste si chiamano Anoie* (and at end of text: *finite lanoie*); in G, *Annoie*; in J, *Le noglie del patechia*. In ABCF, *terzina* 105 begins: *Anoia me chi queste noie muta*, where D has: *queste cose muta*. In his *Zibaldone* Pucci quotes verses *nelle noie nostre*; and a sonnet, cited in the preceding chapter, refers to the *libro delle noie*.

The repeated words indicating the poet's annoyance are *Anoia* in ten manuscripts: ABDFGKLOQS; *Annoia* in eight manuscripts: CHMNPTUV, and the incunabulum I; *Adnoia* in R; *Anoglia* in J; *Anogia* in E (these last two

1. Not in Ferri. Ascribed to Folgore da S. Gimignano by Allacci (1661), Valeriani (1816), and Navone, *Le Rime di Folgore*, Bologna, 1880, p. 58; quoted from Navone (Cod. Barberiniano XLV. 47) by Biadene, *Morfologia del Sonetto*, pp. 159-60. Given to Cino da Pistoia in Ciampi's ed., 1826. Printed from Cod. IX. C. 68 of Naples by Miola, *Propugnatore* XIV. 1. 415-16. Cf. *inter alia* Barbi, *Studi sul Canzoniere di Dante*, 137, 169; Bini, *Rime e prose*, Lucca, 1852, p. 47



forms being probably pronounced like the Tuscan *anoia*. Normally the next word is *me*; but in some manuscripts, including A, an adverb is occasionally inserted: *Anoia molto me* (terzine 15, 28, 88), *Anoia tanto me* (terzine 41, 54, 68), *Anoia ancora me* (terzine 42, 78, 81). In D, however, and in the printed editions based on it, these adverbs (except in *terzina* 15) do not precede *me*.

The question might be raised whether we have here a verb *anoia* (infinitive *anoiare* or *annoiare*) followed by a pronoun object *me*; or (as it has generally been divided in editing or quoting the text): A *noia* (*anoia*) *m'e*, making *noia* a noun as in the title of the capitolo. Both constructions are possible, but there is no doubt that the second is correct in this case. This fact is clearly shown by the last verse of *terzina* 5, which immediately precedes the first of the series of *terzine* beginning with *Anoia*, and reads: *Lasando i nizi che mi sono anoia*. In every manuscript the last word in this verse agrees in spelling with the repeated word in the *terzine* following. As noted above, ms. R has *Adnoia me* (*ad noia m'e*) which in *terzina* 35 appears as *Adnoia mi sono*. Pucci's sonnet *Ahi quanto mi dispiace* has in verse 15: *Molto m'e a nnoia el dir* (Ferri, p. 121).

The construction *essere a noia* (*ad una persona*) was not very common in older Italian, and is now seldom used. Most dictionaries ignore it; but in Tommaseo e Bellini, s. v. *noia*, the phrase *colato mi e a noia* is given as "non comune." Yet, curiously enough, Carducci and Ferrari, *Le Rime di F. Petrarca*, Firenze, 1899, p. 356, give in explanation of the expression

L'alta beltà ch'al mondo non ha pare  
Noia t'è... (sonnet *Arbor victoriosa*, no. 263):

"Ti è a noia. Hai a noia": while editions before Marsand read *Noia te*, treating *noia* as a verb. *Essere noia*, without the preposition, is fairly frequent, as are *far noia*, *aver noia*, *avere* (or *prendere* or *recare*) *a noia*, etc. But examples of

*essere a noia* occur in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; for instance, in the *Noie* or *Inoio* of Girardo Patecchio and the responses by Ugo di Perso, among the phrases indicating dislike we find *A noyo m'è* (I.6), *m'è a noio* (II.1), *A noi' m'è* (II.6), *A noia m'è* (III.6; text of E. Levi, *Poeti antichi lombardi*, pp. 81-108. Levi paraphrases as: *m'è a noia* or *mi annoia*). Guittone d'Arezzo uses the words *noia* and *noioso* frequently, and in one sonnet ascribed to him, *S'el si lamenta null'uom di ventura* (*Rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo*, ed. Valeriani, Firenze, 1828, II, p. 227), this verse occurs: *Se non che l'è lo meo servire a noglia* (:voglià). A sonnet by Guido Cavalcanti, *Un amoroso sguardo spiritale*, ends as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Così pregata foss'ella d'amore  
Ch'un poco di pietà no i fosse a noia.

The word *noia* without *a* is used by Cavalcanti in the sonnet *Se mercè fosse amica a' miei desiri*:<sup>2</sup>

Ma sì è al cor dolente tanta noia  
Ed all'anima trista è tanto danno;

and in the ballata *Quando di morte mi conven trar vita*.<sup>3</sup> In

1. This sonnet, first printed by Fiacchi in 1812, is in Cod. Chigiano L. VIII. 305 (of the 14th century) and in the mss. which represent the collection of poems sent by Lorenzo de' Medici to Frederick of Aragon (cf. Barbi, *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante*, pp. 217-326). The Chigi ms. and the edition of N. Arnone, *Le Rime di Guido Cavalcanti*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1881, pp. 55-56, read in the last verse: *noi fosse noia*; but the other recent editions, and most of the mss., have the verse as above. — P. Ercole, *Guido Cavalcanti e le sue rime*, Livorno, Vigo, 1885, pp. 272-75; *Le Rime di Guido Cavalcanti a cura di E. Rivalta*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1902, p. 137; edition in the series *Scrittori Nostri*, Lanciano, Carabba, 1910 (edited by E. Cecchi), p. 53; *Rimatori del Dolce Stil Nuovo*, ed. Luigi di Benedetto, Torino, U. T. E. T., 1925, p. 28.

2. Printed in the so-called *Giuntina*, Firenze, 1527, f. 63v; Arnone, pp. 64-65; Ercole, pp. 279-80; Rivalta, p. 140; Cecchi, p. 56; Benedetto, pp. 30-31.

3. *Giuntina*, f. 69v; Arnone, p. 36; Ercole, p. 402; Rivalta, p. 163; Cecchi, p. 78; Benedetto, p. 44.

all three cases, *noia* rhymes with *gioia*. Dante, in the ballata of *Vita Nuova* XII, says:

Lo perdonare se le fosse a noia,  
Che mi comandi per messo ch'eo moia;

with which may be compared two verses by Dino Frescobaldi:<sup>1</sup>

Tu dica: Donna, se mercè t'è'n noia,  
La vita di costui conven che moia.

A sonnet by Cino da Pistoia, already cited in the chapter on the *Noie* as a literary form, begins:<sup>2</sup>

Tutto ch'altrui aggrada me disgrada,  
Ed emmi a noia e 'n dispiacere il mondo.

Another sonnet by the same poet begins: "Ome, lasso! or sonvi tanto a noia."<sup>3</sup> The canzone by Franco Sacchetti, *S'io mai peccai per far contra 'l Superno*, has the verse:

E con mante ch'a noia son a veder.<sup>4</sup>

In a sonnet by Pieraccio Tedaldi this verse occurs:

E ciò ch' i' veggo o sento m'è a noia.<sup>5</sup>

1. Canzone Amore, *i' veggio ben che tua virtute*; I. M. Angeloni, *Dino Frescobaldi e le sue rime*, Torino, 1907, p. 138; Benedetto, *op. cit.*, p. 271. Frescobaldi again uses *noia* in rhyme with *muoia*, Angeloni, p. 94.

2. *Le Rime di Cino da Pistoia*, ed. G. Zaccagnini, Geneva, 1925, No. clviii, p. 214; D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, I, 402; Benedetto, *op. cit.*, p. 209; *Rime di M. Cino da Pistoia e d'altri*, ed. Carducci, Firenze, 1928, p. 80 (emmi a noia e spiace).

3. Ed. Zaccagnini, No. lxxxiii, p. 125; ed. Benedetto, p. 130; cf. Barbi, *Studi sul Canzoniere di Dante*, pp. 15, 33, 56, 348, 401, 520. The words rhyming with *noia* are *gioia:moia:poia*.

4. Volpi, *Rime di Trecentisti minori*, p. 117, from Sacchetti's autograph, Cod. Laur.-Ashburn. 574.

5. *Le Rime di Pieraccio Tedaldi*, ed. S. Morpurgo, Firenze, 1885, No. xx, p. 53: sonnet beginning *Quando vedrai la donna ch'io mirava* (also in *Sonetti burleschi e realistici dei primi due secoli*, ed. A. F. Massera, Bari, Laterza, 1920, II, p. 37). Pieraccio, belonging to the group of poets called by Morpurgo *famigliari, giocosi, umo-*

In the *Centiloquio* Pucci frequently uses the word *noia*: in the first canto as a convenient rhyme for *Troia* and *gioia* (as in *Inferno* I, 74-78), and thereafter usually in rhyme with *gioia* and either *Pistoia* or *Savoia*. The following examples of the construction *essere a noia* may be cited:

A' qua' non fu cotal lezione a noia.

(Canto XLII, terzina 49)

i Fiorentin cortesi

Mostrar, che ciò era lor molto a noia.

(XLVI, 36)

Perocchè 'n quella parte gli era a noia

La grande spesa...

(LXII, 54)

La pace fe col Conte di Savoia,

Che 'l Re di Francia di Vienna Sire

Esser volea, ed altrui era a noia.

(LXXXII, 86)

In the fourteenth-century cantare *Gibello* (stanza 28; E. Levi, *Fiore di Leggende*, 1914, p. 152) is the phrase "m'è a noia star qui." In the following century, Burchiello addressed to Mariotto Davanzati a sonnet beginning *Mariotto io squadro pur questa tua gioja* (*Sonetti del Burchiello*, Londra, 1757, p. 141), of which the fifth verse reads:

Con quel suo foggettin, che m'è sì a noja;

and in another sonnet (p. 175) he says: "se sono altrui a noja." Antonio Alamanni (same work, parte v, p. xvi) says: "Questi versacci miei son loro à noia." Giovanni Matteo di Meglio ('Targioni Tozzetti, *Antologia*, Firenze, 1900, I, p. 309) has: "essendo a noia Ancora a quei..."

With these instances of *essere a noia*, all Tuscan except those from Patecchio and Ugo, may be compared Dante, *Inferno* xxx, 100-01:

*risti, borghesi*, and hence in a way a precursor of Pucci and Sacchetti, was a Florentine who wrote in the first half of the 14th century.



E l'un di lor, che si recò a noia  
Forse d'esser nomato sì oscuro.<sup>1</sup>

Petrarca uses *noia* 17 times, often with *è*, as: *l'aspettar m'è noia* (No. 268); *Noia m'è Il viver* (No. 312); never with *a*. In the *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi* he uses *noioso* nine times *noiando* once, *annoia* (verb) once; in his *Rime disperse* (ed. A. Solerti, Firenze, 1909) we find *noioso* three times, *noia* once, and once (Solerti, p. 257, from Cod. Univ. Bologna 1289): *Donna se' senza noglie* (: *voglie*). The form *noglia* for *noia*, as noted elsewhere, is used in one of the manuscripts of Pucci's *capitolo* (Cod. Univ. Bologna 147, our ms. J). In a poem copied in 1294 by a Bolognese notary these verses occur (Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 293; cf. p. 560, where *noglia* is quoted as an example of "rintegrazione errata," *gl* from *j*):

Le pene che durai  
Conteleme in gran çoglia,  
Po che partita è noglia  
Da mi, ch'era in pesança;

whereas in the same poem *çoi* occurs twice as a feminine, not in rhyme: *la fina çoi d'amore*; *çoi complita*; cf. *ibid.*, p. 290: *çoi compluta*. The Italian troubadour Bertolome Zorzi in his "Ben es adregz" (ed. E. Levy, Halle, 1883, No. 1, pp. 38-40, verses 37-42) has *jois* modified by *elegz*, *mondanz* and *complida*, and therefore both masculine and feminine, according to Bertoni, *I Trovatori d'Italia*, Modena, 1915, pp. 173, 456, who calls Zorzi a careless writer; but Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 84, does not think *jois* can be used as a feminine, and explains the construction otherwise. A sonnet by Messer Bartolomeo da Sant'Angelo, according to

1. Elsewhere Dante uses *Fuggi se 'l perir t'è noia* (*Vita Nuova* xv), and *noia* without verb: *Inf.* i, 76; *Par.* iv, 90; *V. N.* xii. He uses the verb *noiare*, *Inf.* xxiii, 15; *Purg.* ix, 87; *Par.* ix, 35, 98; xiv, 18; *V. N.* xii; *noioso*, in *V. N.* xii (prose) and in several *canzoni* and one sonnet (Barbi's No. 96); *innoiato* in the so-called *ses-tina Amor tu vedi ben* (Barbi's No. 102, verse 17).

Cod. Vat. Barberino 3953, beginning *Eo so si richo de la povertate*<sup>1</sup>, has as verses 9 and 14 the following:

Et o en danari libri e çogle...  
A mia richeza tole tute nogle.

Here *çogle* (for *gioie*) obviously has the meaning "jewels". The canzone *Del meo voler dir l'ombra* in Cod. Vat. 3793, No. 99, where it is anonymous, has *amore mi nunglia* rhyming with *con carne ed unglia*; in Cod. Palatino 418, No. 24, it is ascribed to Inghilfredi, and according to Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 204, has *amor mi noglia* and *com chi ama e doglia* (so also in Valeriani, *Poeti del primo secolo*, I, 141; the edition of this manuscript by Bartoli e Casini, *Propugnatore*, XIV, 11, 55, gives a different reading). According to Monaci, Inghilfredi was a follower of Guittone, and probably not a Sicilian. The phrase *l'è lo meo servire a noglia* has already been quoted from a sonnet by Guittone.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Il Canzoniere Vat. Barberino Lat. 3953* (già Barb. XLV. 47), ed. G. Lega, Bologna, 1905, p. 160, No. 99. The sonnet is also in Cod. Magl. VII. 1145, f. 73r, in the group of those ascribed to Pucci; see Massèra, *Sonetti burleschi e realistici*, I, p. 153. A verb *inogla* used by a Bolognese notary, see *Propugnatore*, N. S., III, 11, p. 173. Cf. Bini, *Rime e prose*, p. 172; A. Medin, *Le Rime di Francesco di Vannozzo*, Bologna, 1928, p. 36 (*noglia: zoglia: doglia*).

2. It may be mentioned here that *Il Manganello*, a fifteenth-century poem, of which the Capitolo XII, as we show elsewhere in this study, is an imitation of Pucci's *Noie*, has in the printed editions *Anoia à me*, and in the Seville manuscript *Anolgia me*. We may cite here as a curiosity some verses of Vincenzo Monti in his *Proposta di alcune correzioni ed aggiunte al Vocabolario della Crusca*, Milano, 1817-26, Vol. III (quoted by D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, V, p. 90); the poets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are supposed to be singing to La Critica:

Lo meo core è in allegrezza  
Per voi, donna canoscente.  
Per la vostra benenanza  
Eo non sento più neente  
Di mie noglie la pesanza,  
E saraggio ognor gaudente.  
Donna, per vo'  
La nostra gio'  
Sbaldir ci fae;  
Ch'aggiam certanza  
Di noi pìatanza  
Vi prenderae.

Various derivations have been suggested for *noia*, — *nausea*, *noxa*, *noxia*, *non gioia*, *inedia*, — but it is now regarded as certain that *noia* and the related words in Italian and other languages are derived, whether directly or indirectly, from Latin *odium*. This etymology was put forward by Diez, *EW*, s. v. *noja*, which he derives from *odium* with the preposition *in*, as in the phrase *est mihi in odio*; *in odio*, he states, gave regularly the Italian *noja*, — or better, the old Italian *nojo*, — with the loss of *i*, as well as Spanish *enojo*, Provençal *enois* (*m'es en oi*), etc.; and he quotes from Bonvesin da Riva: *plu te son a inodio*. Ascoli, "Annotazioni dialettologiche" in *AGI*, III, 281, finds in an Old Venetian text (published by Ceruti, *AGI*, III, 177 ff.; see p. 209) "la più nitida conferma" of this etymology in the phrase *quasi a tuti el fosse in oio*. G. Flechia, "Annotazioni sistematiche alle Antiche Rime Genovesi" in *AGI*, VIII, 361, finds further confirmation in the Genoese: *fazando a atri grande inoio*, and *enoio* (rhyming with *orgoio*, *voio*, etc.; texts published by Lagomaggiore in *AGI*, II, pp. 254-55, 282). Flechia (in *AGI*, IV, 371) also suggests the improbable theory that as *in odio* gives *nojo*, so *in odia* gives *noja*; and this theory is apparently accepted by Bezola, *Abbozzo di una storia dei gallicismi italiani*, p. 241 (see below), and by Zingarelli, "Parole e forme della D. C." in *SFR*, I, p. 128. On the other hand, G. Gröber in *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, III, 267-68, asserts that examples of such derivation of Romance substantives are not found; and that the words *enojo*, *ennui*, *noja*, etc., like other abstract substantives, are derived from the verb *inodiare*. But Meyer-Lübke, in his *REW* (1911, No. 4448), seems to maintain that while *noja* is a derivative (*Ableitung*) of the verb *annojare* (from *inodiare*, which in turn from *in odio habere*, *esse*), the masculine forms in Old French (*enui*), Provençal (*enuet*), etc., are "die Fortsetzung des lat. präpositionalen Ausdrucks"; he does not mention Italian *inoio* (cf. Körting, *LRW*, s. v. *\*inodiare*).

Other instances of these words in early Italian texts may be cited. In an Old Lombard text published by W. Foerster in *AGI*, VII we find (p. 67, line 10), *Lo mondo u'a in noio* (cf. C. Salvioni in *AGI*, XII, 408). The bi-lingual *contrasto* of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras has in the first of the stanzas spoken by the Genoese lady (verse 22): *Tal enojo ve dirò* (Crescini, *Manuale*, 1926, No. 35; Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 14; *enojo* defined by Crescini as *insulto*, by Monaci as *noja*). Bonvesin da Riva, *Il Libro delle Tre Scritture* (ed. V. de Bartholomaeis, Società Filologica Romana, 1901, p. 101, verse 2043) says, in speaking of Satanaxo: *El sgiopa ben de inodio e ne ha dolore e pena (sgioipa for scoppia, inodio for odio, according to the editor; but the meaning noia seems to fit as well)*. Again, in his *Disputatio Muscae cum Formica* (Bartoli, *Crestomazia della poesia italiana del periodo delle origini*, Torino, 1882, pp. 52-60; from Bekker's edition, Berlin, 1850-51), Bonvesin uses the word:

La toa vita croja, la toa cativitaie,  
Te fa venir a inodio de tuta l'umanitaie.

In one of the *Laude di frate Jacopone da Todi* (ed. G. Ferri, Società Filologica Romana, 1910, p. 10, No. 4) are these verses:

- (7) Sol la colpa è nodio a l'anema ordenata;  
e la pena gli è gaudio en vertut' exercetata;  
lo contrario sentese l'anema ch'è damnata;  
la pena è nodiata, la colpa en delectato.  
O mirabil odio, d'omne pena signore !...  
(14) tu sol el malfattore degno del tuo odiato..  
(19) O alta penetenza, en mio odio fondata....

In verse 7, *è nodio* might equally well be divided *è 'n odio*, cf. verse 19; *nodiata* in 10 looks like a participle agreeing with *pena*, but the editor mentions it, with *delectato*, to illustrate the use of participles as substantives (see *Glossario* and p. 214). In the *Prediche inedite del B. Giordano da Rivalto* (ed. E. Narducci, Bologna, 1867, I, p. 457) the



verb *inodiare* occurs: *La servitudine è una cosa molto schiata, e inodiata da ogni uomo*. It is found also in the Venetian *Trattati religiosi e libro de li exempli* (ed. G. Ulrich, Bologna, 1891, p. 129, line 3479 — also in *Romania*, XIII): *lo pesse ama solamente cose odorifere e inodia le podiose e le fetide*. In a Bolognese sonnet dated 1332 (L. Frati, *Rimatori Bolognesi del trecento*, Bologna, 1915, p. 215) we find: *me 'l me più inoglia che i crude' le messe*. Francesco da Barberino, who uses the noun *noia* frequently, has: *Tutti son da innodiare* (Latin text, *Omnes hij hodio sunt habendi; Documenti d'Amore*, ed. F. Egidi, Società Filologica Romana, Vol. I, p. 300); *vana laude inhodiare* (Latin, *Vanam hodie laudem*, ed. cit., II, 128); *che la ingnorança inhodi* (III, 238); *in hodio ogni viltate* (Latin, *Et omnem hodio vilitatem*, II, 314). The feminine form of the noun with *i-* is found in the canzone *Amor da cui move tuttora e vene*, ascribed in the older manuscripts to Pier delle Vigne, to Notaro Stefano di Pronto di Messina, or to Notaro Giacomo da Lentino (see E. F. Langley, *The Poetry of Giacomo da Lentino*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915, pp. 49-52, verses 31-32):

C'assai val meglio poco di ben, senza  
Briga ed inoia ed affanno aqistato.

Whoever is the author of this poem, it is certainly of the Sicilian school. The canzone ascribed to Folcacchiero of Siena has this line: *e pare ch'io viva i' noia de la gente*.<sup>1</sup> A similar form is used by Matazone da Caligano, perhaps from the region of Pavia, in his *Detto dei Villani*, verse 257: *Ben che inoya ge para* (published by P. Meyer, *Romania*,

1. *Il Libro de varie romanze volgare*, Cod. Vat. 3793, ed. Satta, Egidi e Festa, Società Filologica Romana, 1902-08, No. 116, p. 106; this ms., the only one containing the canzone, reads *uiua jnoia*, and gives the poet's name as Messer Folcalchieri di Siena. Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 81, says that he had died before 1260; Nannucci, *Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo*, I, 16, says the poem was written about 1177!

XII, 14-28, who assigns it to the fourteenth century; and by Monaci, *Crestomazia*, pp. 445-48, who puts it in the thirteenth). In *La Passione di N. S. rappresentata in Revello nel sec. XV* (ed. V. Promis, Torino, 1888, verse 6526) we find *enoya* in the sense of *malattia*. The corresponding adjective is found in the earliest Italian poetry both with and without the initial *i*-; for instance, in the canzone *Vostra orgogliosa cera* (by Arrigo Testa or Giacomo da Lentino; see Langley, *ed. cit.*, pp. 47, 113; Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 63): *l'afar vostro noioso*; and in the canzone *La 'namoranza disiosa* (by Giacomo da Lentino; Langley, p. 11; Monaci, p. 50; Mussafia in *RBLI*, III, 69-76, etc.): *Molt' è gran cosa ed inoiosa*. Giacomino da Verona (Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 383, verse 31) has: *li quali è tanto enojusi e crudeli e vilan*. An anonymous sonnet in Cod. Vat. 3793 (*ed. cit.*, No. 940) has *volontà villana ed innoiosa*. The verse *Vu si falsa e inoyosa* occurs in "Liriche antiche dell' Alta Italia" (ed. V. de Bartholomaeis, in *Studj Romanzi*, VIII, p. 231 [1912]). Guittone d'Arezzo has *cosa disconcia ed annoiosa* (*Il Canzoniere Laurenziano Rediano* 9, ed. T. Casini, Bologna, 1900, No. 271) and *anoiosa* (*ibid.*, No. 251); elsewhere he uses *noioso*.

The examples quoted indicate that in Italian, as in other languages, the initial *i*- or *e*- is etymologically correct. Nevertheless, the earliest Italian texts also have *noia* and *noio*. Thus Giacomo da Lentino, for instance, has:

Per quant' agio di gioia,  
tant' agio di mala noia;  
la mia vita è croia...

(disordo, *Dal core mi vene*, Langley, pp. 55-58, verse 196; Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 50, verse 187), and:

Grande noia mi fanno i menzoneri

(sonnet, *Cotale gioco*, in tenzone with l'Abate di Tivoli, Langley, p. 65; Monaci, p. 62; Cod. Vat. 3793, *ed. cit.*,

p. 308, No. 329). A canzone ascribed to King Enzo, *S'eo trovasse pietanza*, has :

Sì che sia pietosa  
di me, che non m'è noia  
morir, s'ella n'à gioia

(ed. H. H. Thornton in *Speculum*, I, 401-03 ; also in D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, I, 55-56). Hence it is difficult to see just what Prof. Ezio Levi means when he says, in discussing the poems of Patecchio and Ugo di Perso (see *Poeti Antichi Lombardi*, pp. 66 ff.): "Il toscano '*Noia*' è un vocabolo relativamente recente rifatto per analogia sopra altri consimili che esprimevano concetti del medesimo tipo. La forma antica *Enoio* è quella più coerente alla sua origine e alla sua etimologia (il lat. *in odio*); *enoio* infatti corrisponde allo spagnuolo *enoyo* e al provenzale *enuei*. E tale è la forma legittima che il Patecchio adopera e che, ad escludere ogni altra dubbiozza, colloca persino in rima (*enoio: regoio*, ecc.)." He adds in a foot-note (p. 67): "La forma moderna *Noia* o *Noie* deve essere risolutamente sbandita dai manuali della nostra letteratura antica." The last statement is doubtless intended to apply only to Patecchio, not to Pucci; but even so, it has not been shown that in Italian the forms with initial *i-* or *e-* are earlier than those without. Certainly the *enueg* of Patecchio, one of the earliest Italian compositions containing these words, has in Levi's own critical text, as well as in the manuscript, more forms without the initial vowel than with it. The very first line reads: *Noioso sun et canto dinoio*; the last word is divided *d'inoio* by Novati and Monaci, and Levi unnecessarily (though perhaps correctly) divides it *di noio* (: *croio* : *rigoio* in Levi, *noioso* : *rigolio* in the manuscript). In verse 9, *tanta noia* of the manuscript is changed by Levi to *tanto 'noio*; in 10, *inoia* to *inoio*; but in 31 he keeps *noia*; in 51 he changes *Anoiami* to *A noyo m'è*; and in 81 (the *comiato*) he is constrained to keep *noia*, rhyming with

*voia: coia: foia* (in the manuscript, *voglia: ricoglia: foglia*). In spite of this inconsistent procedure, he remarks (p. 85, note): "Non già *noia*, ma *enoio* deve essere letto correttamente in queste rime lombarde. *Enoio* è il lat. *in-odio*." But in the text as he has arranged it the form *enoio* does not once occur. The verb is *noia*; and the noun is *noia* about as often as it is *noio* or *inoio*.<sup>1</sup>

It appears from the examples given above that the masculine noun *noio* is found only in northern Italy, and that *noia* is found there also; while in contemporary southern texts the form is *noia* (or *inoia*) which soon entirely superseded *noio*, *inoio*, etc., throughout Italy. In Tuscan poets of the mid-thirteenth century and later, like Guittone d'Arezzo and Chiaro Davanzati, *noia* is a frequently used word. But, in spite of the slightly ambiguous statement of Diez, it is not clear how *noia* could develop directly from either Latin *in odio* or Italian *noio*. One solution of the problem, as mentioned above, is that *noia* is a verb-derivative from *inodiare*, through *annoiare*; and even that all the nouns of this group — Ital. *noio* as well as *noia*, Prov. *enoi*, *enueg*, *enuel*, Fr. *enui*, *ennui*, Sp. *enojo*, etc. — are formations from the corresponding verbs in the respective languages. So far as Italian *noio* is concerned, this theory does not seem probable, in view of the passages quoted above from northern texts of the early thirteenth century: for *inodio*, *in oio*, *in noio*, etc., as well as *odio* without *in*, suggest formation directly from the Latin *odio*. In Tuscany, however, as well as in Sicilian poets of the Frederician

1. In Cod. Laur.-Red. 9 (Casini's ed., pp. 343-64), interspersed with sonnets by Notaro Giacomo and other Sicilians, as well as by Tuscan and Bolognese poets, are five sonnets ascribed to Giovanni Marotolo, which cannot be assigned to any definite date or locality. The first of these, No. 384, has as its fourth verse: "Lo grande noio l'ira e lo danagio." Nannucci, *Manuale*, I, 238, notes on this verse: "La grande noia, ridotto dal genere fem. al masc." All five sonnets are printed by Valeriani, *Poeti del primo secolo*, II, 90-94, and the verse in question is cited in the dictionary of the Crusca, 1806 edition, as the only example s. v. *noio*.



group and sometimes in northern Italy, instead of *noio* we find *noia*; in this word, and in *gioia*, the open *o* is never broken into *uo* (as in *muoia*, for instance). From *inodia(re)* we should expect \**noggia* rather than *noia* (cf. *poggio* from *podium*, etc.).<sup>1</sup> Is there, then, any alternative to the verb-derivative theory for *noia*?

Although the influence of Provençal on the language of the early Italian poets is undeniable, opinions may differ as to its extent, and as to its application in particular cases. In regard to the word *noia*, the *Grammatica Storica* of D'Ovidio and Meyer-Lübke (translated from Gröber's *Grundriss* by Polcari, Milano, Hoepli, 1906, p. 81) derives it from *in odio*, and remarks: "Non è parola indigena (dovrebbe sonare \**noggia*) e certo è tolta da lingue occidentali." On the other hand, Parodi in *Bullettino della Soc. Dantesca*, N. S., III (1896), p. 145, commenting on Dante's use of the rhyme *gioia: noia*, says that the latter word "forse è indigeno"; and Zingarelli, "Parole e forme della Div. Com." in *SFR*, I (1885), p. 128, derives *noia* from *in odia*, and continues: "Il parallelo con *gioia* lo fa sospettare di origine gallica, provenzale *noi*... Però la popolarità di *noia*, soprattutto in Toscana, e la sua generale appartenenza al mondo neolatino, rendono assai dubbia l'origine provenzale della voce italiana."<sup>2</sup> In this connection it must be remembered that the corresponding words are masculine in Provençal and French, and sometimes in North Italian as well. How then shall we explain the fact that in Sicilian and Tuscan texts the word is always feminine?

*Noia*, like *gioia*, sometimes counts as one syllable in verse. *Gioia* is even found rhyming with *voi* in the canzone

1. Canello, *AGI*, III, 347, suggests *odia* as the source of *Ital. uggia* (meaning *odio*, *avversione*).

2. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatica storico-comparata della lingua italiana*, trad. Bartoli e Braun, Torino, Loescher, 1914, p. 39; B. Wiese, *Altitalienisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1904, p. 85.

*Amore in cui disio ed ò speranza* by Pier delle Vigne (so in Vat. 3793, No. 38, and in Laur.-Red. 9, No. 120; Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 57, verses 18, 20); and in the canzone *Amando lungamente* by Giacomo da Lentino (Langley's ed., pp. 26-29; *voi* in verse 38 rhymes with *gioia*, verse 39, in Vat. 3214; *goia* in Palatino 418; *gioi* in Chigiano L. VIII. 305). Similarly, in the canzone *In gioia mi tengno* by Rinaldo d'Aquino, *gioi* rhymes with *suoi* (Vat. 3793, No. 33); and in the canzone *Gioiosamente canto*, *gioi* rhymes with *poi* (by Guido delle Colonne di Messina according to Vat. 3793, No. 23, and Laur.-Red. 9, No. 116; by Mazeo di Ricco da Messina according to Pal. 418, No. 26, and Vat. 3214, No. 12). These instances of *gioi* in Vat. 3793 are noteworthy, since this manuscript almost invariably reads *gioia* even where the other old manuscripts of Sicilian poems read *gioi* or *gio*. According to a statement of Caix made many years ago, *gioi* for *gioia* and *noi* for *noia* reproduce Provençal forms from which they are derived, the forms in *-a* being more recent.<sup>1</sup> As is natural in the love-lyric, both *gioia* and *gioi* are very common from the time of the earliest poets of the Sicilian school on. The examples just mentioned, it will be noted, are all from poets of the Frederician group. *Noia* also is frequently used, partly, perhaps, because it furnishes a convenient rhyme for *gioia*; several instances of this rhyme from the time of Giacomo da Lentino to the fourteenth century have been quoted above, and many more might be cited.<sup>2</sup>

1. N. Caix, *Origini della lingua poetica italiana*, Firenze, 1880, pp. 127-28. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. storico-comp.*, p. 60: "Le apocopi come *gioi(a)*, *noi(a)* dell'antica poesia sono puri provenzalismi (da *foi*, *enuej*), come osserva giustamente il Caix"; cf. also Wiese, *op. cit.*, p. 48. If this is true, the modern editors who write *gioi'*, as if it were a real apocopation, would seem to be in error.

2. For example (including some duplicates): Monaci, *Crestomazia*, pp. 50, 72, 96, 97, 101, 185, 190, 192; Valeriani, *Poeti del primo secolo*, I, pp. 166, 227, 272, 337, 341, 353, 473 (also *gioie: noie* 431, *noiosi: gioiosi* 497), II, pp. 82, 117, 224, 344, 390, 409, 412, 423, 463 (also verb *noia: gioia* 244); *Rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo*,

It is not clear to what texts Caix alluded when he coupled *gioi* and *noi*. No instances of *noi* for *noia* in poets of the first half of the thirteenth century have come to light, but there are several from the second half; however, since the three most important and authoritative manuscripts containing collections of thirteenth-century Italian lyrics (Cod. Vat. 3793, Cod. Laur.-Red. 9, and Cod. Palatino 418) all date from the very end of the century or from the first years of the next century, the chronological order in which the earlier poems were written is not always significant linguistically, and the readings of the manuscripts frequently differ. The use of *noi* in poems by Guittone d'Arezzo may well be an instance of direct Provençal influence, whereas *gioi*, frequently used by Guittone, is also found in earlier poets. For *noi* and *gioi* in Laur.-Red. and Pal., the corresponding passages in Vat. read invariably *noia* and almost invariably *gioia*. This may be the result of a standardizing tendency in Vat.; the forms *noi* and *gioi* in the other two manuscripts probably represent not only the sound but the original spelling where they occur. The canzone *Già lungiamente amore* (ascribed to three different poets of the early period; see Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 40) in verse 14 has in L.-R. *gioi*, in Pal. *gio*, and in Vat. *gioia*; the same difference occurs in the canzone *Amor mi fa sovente* by Re Enzo (Monaci, *Cr.*, p. 203, verse 18; Thornton in *Speculum*, I, p. 399, verse 27). The discordo *Dal core mi vene* by Giacomo

Firenze, 1828, I, pp. 13, 43, 67, 78, 138, 142, 153, 166, 170, 185, 189, 208, II, p. 75; *Rimatori Siculo-Toscani*, pp. 143, 145, 148, 156, Lapo Gianni e Gianni Alfani, *Rime*, ed. Lamma, 1912, pp. 43 (*gioia: noia:voia=voglia*), 85; Cod. Laur.-Red. 9, ed. Casini, Nos. 3, 5, 8, 15, 27, 32, 33, 38, 45, 175; Cod. Vat. 3793, ed. Soc. Fil. Rom., Nos. 90, 97, 165, 169, 225, 242, 546. In a tenzone (Monaci, *Cr.*, p. 259; Cod. Vat., Nos. 698-99) Orlanduccio Orafo rhymes *gioia:moia*, and in the corresponding verses of the reply-sonnet Pallamidesse has *Mongioia:nodia* (verb), this last being probably pronounced and originally written *noia*. Petrarca rhymes *noia:gioia* in Nos. 38, 71, 125, and three times in the *Trionfi*. In Ugo's reply to Patecchio one verse reads: *In cui è tutta noia e gioia*.

da Lentino, verse 57, has in L.-R. *con gioi novelli*, in Vat. *con gioie novelle* (Langley, p. 56; Monaci, Cr., p. 48).

Turning now to instances of *noi* in poems by Guittone d'Arezzo, we find in the canzone *Amor non ò podere* (*Rime di Fra G. d'A.*, Firenze, 1828, I, p. 122; *Le Rime di Fra G. d'A.*, ed. F. Pellegrini, Bologna, 1901, I, pp. 207-11; Monaci, Cr., p. 168) in verse 3: *la gran noi che mi fai*, in verse 29: *d'esta noi si guerria* in L.-R., No. 26; while Vat., No. 154, has in both cases *noia* (Pellegrini reads *noi*). The canzone *Voglia de dir*, verse 23 (Pellegrini, p. 269; Monaci, Cr., p. 170; not in 1828 ed.) reads in L.-R., No. 36, *Chella ma for di noioza noi pento*; in Vat., No. 148, *Cielame fuori di noiosa noia penta*. The canzone *Altra fiata agio già* (*Rime* I, 182; Monaci, Cr., p. 188), verse 103, has in L.-R., No. 45, *Più e maggio li è noia che gioi manto*; in Pal., No. 90, *Poi magio gl'è noi ke gioi manto*; in Vat., No. 165, *gioia*, but *noia* omitted. The canzone *O cari frati miei* (*Rime*, I, p. 41) has these verses:

Ogni mondana gioia  
Tarda, corta, leggera è di noi mesta

according to L.-R., No. 8 and Pal., No. 4 (*Propugnatore*, XIV, 1, 241); while Vat., No. 159, reads *noia* (all three mss. have *noia* in the preceding verse, rhyming with *gioia*). Four of Guittone's sonnets have *noi* in L.-R., Nos. 171, 174, 189, 299; of these, two do not occur in Vat.: *Gioia gioioza a me noi e dolore* and *Se non credesse*. Nos. 171 and 189 are in Vat., Nos. 713 and 453, and read *noia*. (These four sonnets are in *Rime*, 1828 ed., II, pp. 71, 74, 89, 168.) A so-called sonnet in *settenari* with two *endecasillabi*, *Per lunga dimoransa*, has these verses:

C'ò piangend' allegransa  
E ridendo noi sento,  
Onni gioi m'è rancura.

This poem is anonymous in L.-R., No. 358, from which it was published in 1685 by Francesco Redi in the notes to



his *Bacco in Toscana*, pp. 107-08, as "Sonetto doppio d'Incerto." Biadene, *Morfologia del Sonetto*, p. 50, mentions it as a special type of sonetto doppio; and it is printed in Valeriani, *Poeti del primo secolo*, II, p. 18, and in Nannucci, *Manuale*, I, p. 203, as by Meo Abbracciavacca of Pistoia. This poet, called by Zaccagnini, *Rimatori Siculo-Toscani*, p. 35, "un vero fossile della maniera guittoniana," reproduces the defects of the school, including the use of Provençal forms and ideas; but Zaccagnini does not include in the poems of Meo *Per lunga dimoransa*, which consists of a series of contradictions, with the rhyme-scheme: abc, abc, abc, abc, Defg, Defg.

The most comprehensive discussion of the etymology of *gioia* and its "pendant" *noia* is that by Bezzola, *Abbozzo di una storia dei gallicismi italiani nei primi secoli*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1925, pp. 238-42. Both words, he believes, came to Italy from France; but unlike many troubadour-words, they are not confined to the love-lyric but are found in other types of literature and in the dialects as well. Thus *gioia* in particular sometimes seems like an indigenous word. *Gaudium*, according to Bezzola, spread from Italy to the provinces conquered previous to 50 B. C., for we find its derivatives (masculine) in many Italian dialects, as well as in Provence and the Hispanic peninsula. In North France, however, it was replaced by the plural *gaudia*, giving the feminine singular *joie* with the meanings "joy" and "jewel". With both meanings, *joie* spread to Provence, maintaining itself there along with *gauch* or *gaug* from *gaudium*. In Italian, except for dialectic survivals, *gaudia* suppressed *gaudium*;<sup>1</sup> but "*gioia* in Italia non può esser

1. The discussion here is of course concerned with words of popular formation. It need hardly be mentioned that *odio*, *odiare*, *gaudio*, *gaudioso*, etc., exist in Italian, and have been used from the 13th century. In Petrarca the locution *avere in odio* is common. Cappuccini, *Vocabolario*, s. v. *odio*, quotes as a familiar expression *in odium auctoris*. Bonvesin da Riva has: *grangi godhii*, *grangi*

indigeno. Ammessa l'etimologia *gaudia* si avrebbe in Toscana \*goggia". Contrary to what one would expect, Bezzola continues, the Prov. *joi* (masculine) is exceptional in the Sicilian school. In fact, he cites no Sicilian instance where *gioi* is masculine, and no such instance has come to light; wherever the gender is shown (as in *la gioi nostra*, Monaci, *Cr.*, p. 69) it is, like *gioia*, feminine. Since *joia* in Prov. is rare, *gioia*, Bezzola states, cannot be derived otherwise than from French *joie*; and this is in line with the theory of direct Norman-French influence on the language of the Sicilian poets.<sup>1</sup> As to *joi*, Bezzola (p. 239) believes it derived from a crossing of *gauch*, which determined the gender, with French *joie*, which determined the form. Crescini in the first edition of his *Manuale*<sup>2</sup> explained *joi* as due to French influence; later he accepted the theory of Jeanroy that it is a regular form of the dialect of Poitou, whence through the influence of Count William and his court it spread to other dialects in which the maintenance of the diphthong *au* is regular.<sup>3</sup> Certainly *joy* (*joi*) is used by Count

*solazi* (Monaci, *Cr.*, p. 405, v. 44). Jacopone da Todi has *gaudio* contrasted with *nodio* (see passage quoted above).

1. In regard to such influence, see Bezzola, pp. 35-42 and *passim*; Bertoni, *Il Duecento*, pp. 38-57. P. E. Guarnerio, *Fonologia romanza*, Milano, Hoepli, 1918, p. 426, also derives *gioia* from French *joie*, and this, p. 281, from *gaudia*; Meyer-Lübke, *REW*, 3705, apparently accepts this derivation.

2. *Manualetto Provenzale*, Verona-Padova, Drucker, 1892, p. xxvi.

3. A. Jeanroy, *Les Chansons de Guillaume IX (Classiques français du moyen âge)*, Paris, Champion, 1913, p. xi: "J'en vois un autre [poitevinisme] dans cette forme *joy*, si intéressante pour l'histoire des origines de la poésie de cour. Le limousin, s'il change *g* latin en *j* devant *a*, garde le diphtongue *au*; le poitevin, au contraire, connaît le changement de *g* en *j* et celui de *au* en *o*." Cf. Crescini, *Manuale per l'Avviamento agli Studi provenzali*, 3a ed., Milano, Hoepli, 1926, p. 17: "*gaug...* è riflesso ben più legittimo del termine latino, essendovi conservato il dittongo; perciò si pensa *joi* d'origine pittavina. Dalla corte del Poitou, già con Guglielmo IX altrice della lirica dei trovatori, e dalla varietà francese propria di quella regione, si sarebbe la voce polisensa trasfusa nel trobadorico linguaggio." Settegast, *Joi in der Sprache der Troubadours*, 1889, "n'en a pas recherché avec précision l'origine" (Jeanroy, *loc. cit.*).

William to the exclusion of *gaug*. The two forms occur together as if different words, but without apparent distinction in meaning, in a poem by Peire d'Alvernhe (*Ros-sinhol, el seu repaire*, ed. R. Zenker in *Romanische Forschungen*, XII, pp. 753-56; cf. pp. 739, 745-48):

ab lui ai en guidonatge  
joc e joi e gaug e ris.

With this passage may be compared these verses from the poem *Jaufre* (H. Breuer, *Jaufre, ein altprovenzalischer Abenteuerroman*, Göttingen, 1925, verses 7741-44; cf. Appel, *Prov. Chr.*, No. 3, verses 539-42):

Seiner Jaufre, vostra venguda  
nos a nostra joia creguda  
e'ns a tout ira e consirier  
e donat gautz ez alegrier.

The question whether Prov. *joia* (fem.) shows French influence, is immaterial to the present discussion; suffice it to say that *joia*, while less common than *joi*, occurs not infrequently both in and out of rhyme. Thus Bernart de Ventadorn uses *joi* many times, *joia* at least three times (Appel, *Bernart von Ventadorn*, Halle, 1915, No. 44: *Tant ai mon cor plen de joia* ; also in Nos. 8, 22 and 10, 44, not in rhyme), and *gaug* not at all. According to Appel (*op. cit.*, p. LXXII), Cercamon uses *joi* 13 times, *joia* twice (see A. Jeanroy, *Les Poésies de Cercamon*, Paris, *Class. fran. du moyen âge*, 1922, pp. 2, 21). Bertran de Born uses *joia* twice in rhyme (Stimming's ed., Halle, 1913: in No. 20, rhyming with the verb *enoia*:*Troia*:*Savoia*; in No. 36, with *Savoia*). Arnaut Daniel in the canzone *Can chai la fueilla* (U. A. Canello, *La Vita e le opere del trovatore Arnaldo Daniello*, Halle, 1883, No. III) has *joia* once not in rhyme, and once rhyming with *croia*: *Savoia*: *Troia*. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras has *Cavalcon ab gran joia* (Crescini, *Manuale*, No. 34; Bartsch-Koschwitz, col. 299,21) rhyming with

*Troia: Savoia*. Other examples of *joia* in the sense of "joy", and examples in the sense of "jewel" (e. g., Bartsch-Koschwitz, 284, 23 and 299, 11; Bertoni, *Trovatori d'Italia*, pp. 232, 302), could be added.

The rhyme of *enoi* and *joï* is not common in the poems of the troubadours, like *noia* and *gioia* in Italian. One instance can be cited: Arnaut Daniel, in the song *Sols sui qui sai*,<sup>1</sup> has the following verses in rhyme:

- (33) Pero l'afans m'es deportz, ris e jois.
- (40) Dic trop? Eu non, sol lieis non sia enois.
- (43) Ma chansos prec que nous sia enois.

In another song, the same poet has *enuocs* rhyming with *juocs*.<sup>2</sup>

Several poets use *enoi* and *joï* in connection if not in rhyme. Thus Arnaut Daniel begins a song as follows:

Amors e jois e liocs e tems  
Mi fan bon sen tornar e dere  
D'aquel noi c'avia l'autr'an.<sup>3</sup>

Bernart de Ventadorn has (Appel's ed., No. 45, p. 271):

et eu, que chantar solia,  
mor d'enoi e de pezansa,  
can au joï ni alegransa.

1. Canello, *ed. cit.*, No. xv, p. 115; cited also by E. Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, III, pp. 12-14, to prove the existence of the form *enoi*. Cited by Dante, *De Vulg. Eloq.* II, vi, as an example of "illustres cantiones." Verse 43 is cited by F. Redi, *Bacco in Toscana*, 1685, p. 94, in the form: Ma canzon prec que non vus sia en nois. Cf. the rhyme of *joia* with verb *enoia*, cited above from Bertran de Born.

2. *Er vei vermeilh*s, verses 29, 36; Canello, No. xiii, pp. 112-13, with note on p. 242 in which the editor unnecessarily infers that *enuocs* "è usato qui aggettivamente, come *enois* in xv, 43; e l'uso sembra risentirsi dell'origine di questa parola: *in odio*."

3. Canello, No. xiv, p. 113. The two mss. which contain this poem read in v. 3 *ioi*, but Canello remarks in a note, p. 243: "La correzione di *joï* in *noi* è imposta dal contesto." Levy, *loc. cit.*, recognizes the necessity of emending, but prefers to read *De l'enoi*, since *noi* is not found in Provençal.



Levy, *loc. cit.*, quotes from Ugo de S. Circ:

El siei gioi mi fan plurar  
El siei enuoi alegrar;

and from Gaucelm Faidit:

Mas peza me car cujon que joys falha  
Per lor enuey.

The *tenso* of Albert Marques and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (Crescini, *Manuale*, No. 37, p. 256; also in Appel, *Prov. Chr.*, No. 90, and Bertoni, *Trovatori d'Italia*, pp. 211-15) has:

E cel qe'us fetz de joglar cavallier  
Vos det enoi trebaill e malananssa  
E pensamen et ir' et encombrier,  
E tolc vos joi et pretz et alegranssa.

The Italian troubadour Lanfranc Cigala (Bertoni, *op. cit.*, p. 372) has:

S'uns totz sols, cui iois non plaz,  
Tot lo mon carcha d'enui,  
Gardaz que podem far dui.

Elsewhere Cigala uses *enoi ni destric* (Bertoni, *op. cit.*, p. 370). With these passages may be compared the following, although of course *joc* is not the same word as *joi* (cf. quotation from Peire d'Alvernhe, above; the following is from the incomplete *Chastel d'Amors*, in Bartsch-Koschwitz, 299; cf. *Annales du Midi*, I, 194):

Lor celarer e lor coc  
son tuit de ris e de joc  
e de parlar ses enoc.

In discussing *noia*, "the 'pendant' of *gioia* both in meaning and in form," Bezzola (p. 241) states that its popularity in Tuscany and its general diffusion in Romance territory render uncertain a derivation from Provençal; yet an indi-

genous \**noggia* from *in odia* does not exist. He does not make clear how, if at all, *noia* (fem.) came to Italy from Provence; probably not, he says, in connection with the "genere letterario delle *noie*, perchè esse in prov. si chiamano *enues* (masc.)." It should be noted, in fact, that when the genre was being introduced in North Italy by Patecchio (who uses both masculine and feminine forms of the word), *noia* was already familiar in the love-lyric of the Sicilian school; it is not certain when the term *enues* was first used to designate the genre, but no instance has yet been cited earlier than the *Leys d'Amors*. Bezzola quotes various forms of the word in Italian dialect texts, but his discussion is contradictory and inconclusive; he does not mention the possibility that *noia* is derived from the verb, as is suggested by Gröber, Meyer-Lübke and Körting. Following Gröber (*Archiv f. Lat. Lex.*, III, 267), Körting (*LRW*, 5007) postulates a hypothetical verb *inodiare* (v. *odium*), from which he derives "ital. *annoiare*, *noiare*, dazu das Vbsbst. (*nojo*), *noja*, Verdruss." <sup>1</sup> Whatever may be thought of this "verbal-substantive" theory, the existence of *inodiare*, not only in Italian but in late Latin, has been attested.<sup>2</sup>

In classical Latin the defective deponent verb *odi* means "to hate, dislike, be displeased or vexed at"; but fourth conjugation forms from *odio*, and a first conjugation verb *odiare*, existed in popular speech, and *odio habere* was used in the sense "to hate." <sup>3</sup> As the passive of *odi*, classical

1. For the change of prefix in *annoiare*, cf. Grandgent, *From Latin to Italian*, 1927, p. 38. Grandgent does not take up the problems presented by *noia* and *gioia*.

2. See G. Landgraf, "Das Defektivum *odi* und sein Ersatz," in *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.*, XII (1901-02), 149 ff., especially p. 150. My attention was called to this article by Professor Duane R. Stuart. Harper's *Latin Dictionary* gives *odiat* and *inodiat*, 'hateful'. For an early example of Italian *odiare* (1213), see *Studj Romanzi* XII, p. 104.

3. Cf. in the Vulgate, *John*, xv, 18: *Si mundus vos odit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit*.

Latin regularly used *odio esse*, with or without a dative: but *in odio esse* was also used, notably by Cicero.<sup>1</sup> *Odium* means primarily "hatred, enmity, aversion"; and sometimes "object of hatred, vexatiousness, annoyance" — the normal meaning of *noia*.<sup>2</sup> Flechia,<sup>3</sup> in discussing the etymology of *noia*, asserts that *esse alicui in odium* and *incurrere in odia hominum* are good Latin and make probable the derivation of *noio* and *noia* from *in odio* and *in odia*. But even if *in odia* is found to be a current expression,<sup>4</sup> the phonetic difficulty of the Italian forms remains unexplained. Thus, while we find in Latin the necessary elements to account for Italian *odio* and *odiare*, as well as *inodio* and *inodiare*, and the corresponding words in French and Provençal, with their various meanings, we are not able to demonstrate the direct derivation from Latin of *noia*, *noioso*, *noiare*, *annoiare*. Hence we return perforce to the question of derivation from Provençal.

Both *joi* and *joià* are common words in Provençal. Except in rhyme, the masculine form is by far the more common of the two: but in rhyme *joià* seems to be ap-

1. Landgraf, *op. cit.*, p. 157, quotes examples from Cicero, e. g. *Epist. ad Att.* 2, 21, 1: *tanto in odio est omnibus*; *De Cn. Pomp.* sec. 65: *difficile est dictu quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes*. See also Harper's *Lat. Dict.*, s. v. *odium*.

2. In the *Documenti d'Amore* of Francesco da Barberino, ed. Egidi, I, p. 73, *noiosa* is used as equivalent to Latin *tediosa*; *ricever dece e non far noia lui* as *te potius recipere tedium quam inferre* (I, p. 107); *Noia mi fa chi...* as *Tedium affert michi qui...* (I, p. 264). It will be recalled that Salimbene speaks of the *Enoio* of Patecchio as *Liber de Tediis*. F. da Barberino rhymes *noia:gioia*, *ibid.*, pp. 283, 304.

3. In a review in *AGI*, IV (1878), 368 ff., of Bianco Bianchi, *Storia della preposizione A e de' suoi composti nella lingua italiana*. Firenze, 1877. Bianchi derives *noia* from *inedia* in the sense of Ital. *tedio*; Flechia (p. 371) shows that this is impossible: the Latin uses *odium* for *tedio*, *molestia*, *fastidio*, and there is no Ital. derivative from *inedia*. To illustrate this sense of *odium* Flechia quotes from Terence, *Eun.* 5, 5, 2 (also quoted in Harper's *Lat. Dict.*): *neque agri neque urbis odium me unquam percipit*, which he translates: "non m'annojo mai nè in villa nè in città."

4. Landgraf, *op. cit.*, p. 158, gives one instance of *in odia*: Cicero, *Off.* 1.150: *in odia hominum incurrant*.

proximately as common as *joi*. In early Italian both *gioia* and *giori* were used, doubtless in conscious imitation of the two Provençal forms; it is immaterial to the present discussion whether the form and the gender of *gioia* were due wholly or in part to influence of the French *joie*. *Gioia* is for Italian a more natural and normal formation than *giori*; and the latter, where the gender is indicated, is feminine as if it were merely an apocopation of *gioia*. As we have seen, the Tuscan copyist of Cod. Vat. 3793 regularly changed the unquestionably original *giori* (preserved in other mss.) to *gioia*. In view of these circumstances, what is more probable than that Provençal *enoi*, by analogy with *gioia* and as an obvious and convenient rhyme-word to go with it, should appear as *noia*, feminine, even though such a form does not exist in Provençal? Another convenient rhyme-word was the adjective *croia*, in this feminine form common to Provençal and Italian, and doubtless (like *gioia*) borrowed by the Sicilian poets directly from Provençal;<sup>1</sup> this word, as well as the names Troia and Savoia, also common to both languages, and the verb *muoia*, may well have helped to determine the form and gender of *noia* in the earliest texts. *Noi*, a natural derivative by apheresis from Prov. *enoi*, is found in the second half of the thirteenth century, but not in the Frederician period; *noi* or *noio* would not have furnished the desired rhyme.<sup>2</sup>

1. Cf. Bezzola, *op. cit.*, p. 232. The derivation of Prov. *croi*, -a, is uncertain; it is probably from a Celtic word. As noted above, Arnaut Daniel uses *croia:joia:Savoia:Troia* (Canello, No. III). Giacomo da Lentino has *la mia vita è croia*, rhyming with *gioia: noia* (ed. Langley, p. 58; Monaci, *Crest.*, p. 50, and same rhymes in an anonymous poem, p. 101). Guittone d'Arezzo has the rhyme *gioia:noia:croia* three times (1828 ed., I, 13, 142; II, 75), and *noia: croia* twice beside (*ibid.*, I, 148, 163). Dante uses *croia* once (*l'epa croia*, *Inf.* xxx, 102), rhyming with *Troia:noia*. Ezio Levi introduces a conjectural *croio* in Patecchio: see *Poeti antichi lombardi*, p. 82. Bonvesin da Riva in his *Disputatio Muscae cum Formica* (Bartoli, *Crestomazia*, p. 53) has the expression *la toa vita croia*.

2. Dante uses the verb-form *noi* twice: *Purg.* ix, 87, rhyming with *noi* (pronoun): *voi*; *Par.* xiv, 18, with *voi:poi*. Cf. above, the



The other Prov. forms, *enuæg*, *enuei*, etc., did not so readily lend themselves to Italianizing. In short, it may be asserted with confidence that *NOIA* is the Prov. *enoi* changed to the feminine form by analogy of *gioia* and other words, and for the sake of the rhyme with them.<sup>1</sup>

The antithesis of *noia* and *gioia* is exceedingly common from the earliest period on, as is indicated by examples already cited. The joy of success in love is contrasted with the distress of failure; the joys of heaven, with the sufferings of the earthly life or of hell. Thus Dante, *Inf.* 1, 76-78:

Ma tu perchè ritorni a tanta noia?  
perchè non sali il diletto monte  
ch'è principio e cagion di tutta gioia?

Cino da Pistoia, in the second stanza of the canzone<sup>2</sup> addressed to Dante on the death of Beatrice, has these lines:

Noi provamo che 'n questo cieco mondo  
ciascun si vive in angosciosa noia ;  
chè in onne avversità Ventura 'l tira.  
Beata l'alma che lassa tal pondo  
e va nel ciel ov'è compiuta gioia,  
gioioso 'l cor for di corrotto e d'ira.

Guittone d'Arezzo characteristically plays with the words (1828 ed., I, p. 137; cf. I, p. 208):

Chè gioi' prometti forte  
Donando adesso noia;  
E se talor dai gioia  
Oh quanto via peggior che noi' la tegno.

Other poets accumulate synonyms, as Bonagiunta da Lucca (Valeriani, *Poeti del Primo Secolo*, I, p. 473):

infrequent rhyme of *gioi(a)* with *suoi* or *poi*; such cases are distinctly exceptional.

1. Similarly, *noglia* for *noia* may be due to the rhyme with *doglia*: *voglia*, etc.

2. *Avegna ched el m'aggia più per tempo*; ed. Zaccagnini, p. 65; ed. Benedetto, p. 227; *Opere di Dante*, ed. crit., p. 62.

E l'ire e 'l pianto e le pene e la noia  
Mi può tornare a suo piacere in gioia;

Federigo dall' Ambra (*ibid.*, II, p. 390):

Forza, disdegno, frodo, torto, e brama,  
Spiacer, dolor, sospiri, pianti, e noia,  
Lamento, pena, pasmo, angoscia, e morte,  
Dona l'amore all'amadore in sorte,  
Mostrandoli di dar piacente gioia.  
Mal aggi Amore e chi più di me l'ama.

According to L. Valli, *Il Linguaggio segreto di Dante e dei "Fedeli d'amore,"* Roma, 1928, pp. 189, 283, *noia* and *noioso* refer to whatever is contrary to the "sect", and in *Vita Nuova*, XII, Dante accuses himself of being *noioso*, "che in gergo vale seguace della Chiesa corrotta"; the sonnet of Cavalcanti *I'vegno il giorno a te infinite volte* being a comment on that passage, and *noia*, according to Valli, regularly having this meaning in poems of the *dolce stil nuovo* (see also Cavalcanti, *Se Mercè fosse amica*, and Lapo Gianni, *Novelle grazie a la novella gioia*; Benedetto, *Rimatori*, pp. 31, 87). Whatever importance may be attached to this interpretation by Valli, it is obvious that *noia* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries frequently had a more serious connotation than at present; although in many instances, as for example in Pucci's *Noie* and in many of the passages here cited, it means simply annoyance, distaste, boredom. Similarly, Latin *odium*, hatred, was often weakened to mean merely dislike, distaste; and French *ennui* shows similar variations of meaning.<sup>1</sup> In Old French, *enui* or *anui* sometimes means a troublesome, annoying person or crowd;<sup>2</sup> and in Italian a troublesome person may be addressed as "Noia". Boccaccio

1. See Littré, s. v.: Dans le style relevé, ennui est un mot d'une grande force et qui s'applique à toutes sortes de souffrances de l'âme... Dans le langage ordinaire, il perd beaucoup de sa force et se borne à désigner ce qui fait paraître le temps long.

2. See O.M. Johnston, "Old French *enui* applied to persons,"

in the proemio to the *Decamerone* uses *noia* to describe his troubles in a love affair, and in the introduction to the first *giornata* he says: "La presente opera... avrà grave e noioso principio, sì come è la dolorosa ricordanza della pestifera mortalità trapassata... A questa breve noia... seguita prestamente la dolcezza e il piacere." In Petrarca (No. 37, vv. 47-48) we find:

E quanto era mia vita allor gioiosa  
M'insegni la presente aspra e noiosa.

An tonio Pucci in his *Contrasto delle donne* (ed. D'Ancona, stanza xxxix) uses *noia* to indicate more serious troubles than those enumerated in the *Noie*:

Mostrando Elèna grande festa e gioia  
A Menelaio, si fe' tradimento,  
Del qual poi naque tanta guerra e noia,  
Ch'a molta gente fu mortal tormento;  
E puossi dir che la città di Troia  
Distrutta fu per tal cominciamento.

In his *Nuovo Dizionario de' sinonimi della lingua italiana*, Napoli, 1906, Nos. 1668-71, N. Tommaseo makes interesting distinctions:

Ai nostri maggiori la noia... comprendeva ogni sorta di male: poi venne gradatamente a restringersi, tanto che al presente esprime... quella sola specie di noia che viene dalla mancanza di grandi dolori e piaceri... Il dar noia comprende e le più serie cose e le più leggiere... Ma v'è due sorte di noia; la noia che viene da indifferenza, e quella che viene da incomodo. In questo secondo senso dicevano gli antichi *noiare*, troppo più grave del moderno *annoiare*... *Fastidio* è più forte di *noia*... La *noia* è disgusto che viene dalla ripetizione d'impressione spiacevole o dalla durata d'uno stato che rinresce per la soverchia uniformità; *molestia* è principio di turbamento e di dolore; è dunque un po' più di *noia*... Il *tedio* è più che la *noia*... La *noia* può essere più passeggera dell'*uggia*.

<sup>i</sup> in *Modern Language Notes*, XLV (1930), 32-34; Bédier, *Le Lai de l'Ombre*, p. xi.

There is a Tuscan proverb which says:

Per uh di di gioia  
Se ne ha mille di noia.<sup>1</sup>

Proverbial is also "la noia del Leopardi," like "l'ennui de René," a sort of chronic boredom, melancholy, *mal du siècle*. The word *noia* occurs frequently in Leopardi's prose and verse — even with the familiar rhyme in *Il Sabato del Villaggio*, and in these verses from *Il Pensiero dominante*:

Che intollerabil noia  
Gli ozi, i commerci usati,  
E di vano piacer la vana spene,  
Allato a quella gioia,  
Gioia celeste che da te mi viene!

On 25 November 1822 he wrote from Rome to his brother (*Epistolario*, Firenze, 1892, I, 360-62):

Delle gran cose che io vedo non provo il menomo piacere... e t'accerto che la moltitudine e la grandezza loro m'è venuta a noia dopo il primo giorno.

Two paragraphs in his *Pensieri* (LXVII, LXVIII) deal with Leopardi's understanding of the word:<sup>2</sup>

Poco propriamente si dice che la noia è mal comune. Comune è l'essere disoccupato, o sfaccendato per dir meglio; non annoiato. La noia non è se non di quelli in cui lo spirito è qualche cosa. Più può lo spirito in alcuno, più la noia è frequente, penosa e terribile. La massima parte degli uomini trova bastante occupazione in che che sia, e bastante diletto in qualunque occupazione insulsa; e quando è del tutto disoccupata, non prova perciò gran pena. Di qui nasce che gli uomini di sentimento sono sì poco intesi circa la noia, e fanno il volgo talvolta mara-

1. Also: "Non v'è gioia senza noia." See G. Giusti, *Raccolta di Proverbi Toscani*, Firenze, Le Monnier, n. d., p. 203.

2. James Thomson, author of *The City of Dreadful Night*, a spirit somewhat akin to Leopardi, in his admirable translation of the *Essays, Dialogues and Thoughts of Giacomo Leopardi*, ed. B. Dobell, London, Routledge, n. d., renders *noia* regularly by "lifeliness."



vigliare e talvolta ridere, quando parlano della medesima e se ne dolgono con quella gravità di parole, che si usa in proposito dei mali maggiori e più inevitabili della vita.

La noia è in qualche modo il più sublime dei sentimenti umani...

From the *Noie* of Antonio Pucci to the "life-weariness" of Giacomo Leopardi is evidently a far cry. The nineteenth-century pessimist uses the word in its modern sense, but fills it with such profound significance that only a superior spirit can realize it as he does. The fourteenth-century satirist, in his thorough-going optimism, enumerates the things that cause him annoyance, not because they fill him with melancholy, but because even in shocking his sense of propriety they amuse as well as annoy him; and also, it seems, because he hopes by drawing attention to them in a humorous way, to eliminate some of the petty abuses which selfishness or thoughtlessness impose upon society.

## 6. — DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

### I. Manuscripts

Twenty-one manuscripts, so far as is now known, contain Pucci's *Noie*. Of these, twelve are in Florence — six in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, one in the Marucelliana, one in the Laurenziana, four in the Riccardiana; three are in Rome; three are in the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna; and there is one in each of the following: the Marciana at Venice, the Biblioteca Comunale at Foligno, and the Bodleian at Oxford.

In addition, there is an incunabulum edition, of which only one copy is known to exist; this copy is in the Biblioteca Comunale at Imola. It has not been mentioned, so far as can be determined, by any bibliographer except the author of the catalogue of the Imola library. Since it is about as early as some of the manuscripts, and since it was apparently not printed directly from any manuscript now

known, it will be cited in the critical apparatus as if it were a manuscript.

A description of the manuscripts follows, arranged according to their present location; and of the printed editions, arranged chronologically. The capital letters in parentheses accompanying the descriptions are the sigla used afterwards in referring to the manuscripts; the reason for the alphabetical order adopted in assigning the sigla will appear later. The heading of the *Noie* (if any), and the beginning and end of the text, with folio numbers, are quoted from each manuscript.

Florence : Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

1. — Cod. N.A. 333. cart. ff. 61. sec. XIV. (A)

f. 51r

*Noye*

I priego la divina maestade...

f. 53r

Anoia me chi queste noie muta  
over lachrescie senza antonio puci  
cha questa parte al vostro onor conpiuta  
No le muttar stu non vuo chi me chruci.

*Amen amen*

Antonio puci ne fu dicittore  
ghuardivi senpre Christo salvatore.

105 terzine, plus one couplet.

This is the so-called Codice Kirkupiano, the most important manuscript in existence for the study of Pucci's poetry. It was written during his lifetime, but not by his own hand (hence called by the Italians *apografo*), and it includes twenty-two of his poems (some of them mutilated), many of which are not found elsewhere. As to its early history we know nothing. When first mentioned, it belonged to Seymour Kirkup, an English artist and antiquary domiciled in Florence, who in 1867 allowed Professor Alessandro D'Ancona to study it at his leisure and to copy it. In 1869, in an open letter to Prof. Alexander Wesselofsky prefixed to the text of the *Contrasto delle donne* (see "Una Poesia ed

una Prosa di Antonio Pucci," in *Propugnatore*, II, II, 412 ff.; reprinted in his *Saggi di Letteratura popolare*, 1913, p. 331 ff.), D'Ancona remarks: "Io vi vengo innanzi con un componimento poetico del trecento che certo non vi giungerà nuovo: poichè non credo vi debba esser uscito affatto di mente come, nell'autunno del 67, mentre al di fuori tutto era tumulto di armi, noi ci eravamo rinchiusi in una solitaria stanzetta a decifrare pazientemente quel codice antico delle rime di Antonio Pucci, che il buon vecchio del cav. Seymour Kirkup ci aveva concesso con generosa fiducia e con permissione di trascriverne ciò che più ne piacesse... Il codice del pittore e gentiluomo inglese è, come sapete, di assai buona dettatura, e scritto certamente nel secolo XIV."

Seymour Kirkup (1788-1880) was the son of an English diamond merchant. In 1816 he went to Italy; from 1824 to 1872 he lived in Florence. His chief title to fame is his connection with the discovery of Giotto's portrait of Dante in a fresco on the wall of a chapel in the Bargello. Together with Giovanni Aubrey Bezzi, a Piedmontese refugee, and Richard Henry Wille, an American citizen, Kirkup secured permission to have the whitewash which covered the fresco removed. This was done in July, 1840; and before the figure of Dante was repainted by Antonio Marini, Kirkup made a tracing and a colored sketch of it which show how it looked when first uncovered. This is the portrait described by Antonio Pucci in his well-known sonnet *Questi che veste di color sanguigno*.<sup>1</sup>

Kirkup's library was dispersed in 1871-72, and some of his manuscripts are said to have been sold for old paper. Fortunately, the manuscript of Pucci's poems was acquired by Professor William Cumming Wilde and brought to

1. For the text of the sonnet, further information concerning Kirkup and Wilde (who was the father of W. C. Wilde, mentioned below), and discussion as to the authenticity of the portrait, with bibliographical references, see Appendix.

America; but this fact was not generally known in Italy, and the manuscript was lost sight of. Possibly the fact that Mr. Wilde was the son of R. H. Wilde, who had been associated with Kirkup in 1840, may have given him the opportunity to purchase it. After his death in 1890<sup>1</sup> a portion of his library, including this manuscript, was bought by Mr. George A. Plimpton of New York and presented to Wellesley College as the nucleus of a collection of Italian literature. The manuscript was then identified by Professor Margaret H. Jackson of Wellesley College, who in 1910 published an account of it: "Antonio Pucci's Poems in the Codice Kirkupiano of Wellesley College," in *Romania*, XXXIX, 315-23. The text of the *Noie* was copied from it at Wellesley in 1910 by Kenneth McKenzie, and published by him in the *Studii in onore di Francesco Torraca* (1912). Meanwhile, the director of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence had asked for a photographic copy of the entire manuscript; but, recognizing the unique interest of this text for the city of Florence, Miss Jackson, with the approval of Mr. Plimpton and of the President and Trustees of Wellesley College, decided to send it back to Italy and keep the photograph in America. On January 26, 1912, it was transferred by Dr. J. B. Carter, director of the American Academy in Rome, to the Minister of Public Instruction, who in turn placed it in the library in Florence. A detailed description of the manuscript was published by Dr. S. Morpurgo, then director of the Biblioteca Nazionale

1. William Cumming Wilde (1823-90; not *Cummings* and not *Wild*, as sometimes given) was professor of ancient languages in the University of Louisiana (now Tulane University). In one of his books now in the Wellesley collection he noted in 1873 that he then had the Kirkup ms. in his possession in New Orleans. It has not hitherto been pointed out that both father and son had relations with Kirkup. For some of the facts here mentioned I am indebted to Miss Emily Wilde, daughter of W. C. Wilde; to Miss M. H. Jackson of Wellesley College; to T. W. Koch, Librarian of Northwestern University; and to R. J. Usher, Librarian of the Howard Memorial Library in New Orleans.



Centrale, in *Bollettino delle Pubblicazioni italiane*, No. 133 (Gennaio, 1912). From this description, as well as from that by Miss Jackson, from personal inspection of the manuscript, and from a photostat of the text of the *Noie*, is derived the information here presented. Reference should also be made to the recently published catalogue of the Plimpton Collection.<sup>1</sup>

When in Kirkup's possession and at Wellesley, the manuscript consisted of two parts bound together but having no intrinsic connection. The first part, containing a portion of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, remains at Wellesley; it is the second part, containing exclusively poems by Pucci, that has returned to Florence. This part now consists of 61 folios; but the old numbering shows that 16 folios at the beginning and 21 others within the volume have been lost; and of those remaining several are mutilated. In spite of its condition, this manuscript is of unique importance for the works of Antonio Pucci, both because it contains poems not found elsewhere and because of its early date and obviously close relation to the original autograph. Morpurgo confirms the statement of D'Ancona, that the handwriting is of the second half of the fourteenth century. One poem — the ballata to Lucca — refers to events of 1370. The watermark in the paper — a unicorn — is found elsewhere in the period from 1372 to 1380 (see Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, no. 9926). Hence the manuscript may be dated with practical certainty between 1370 and the year of Pucci's death (1388). It was not, however, written by his own hand. Morpurgo has identified Cod. Laurenziano-Tempiano 2 as Pucci's autograph of the *Zibaldone*; and the handwriting in our manuscript is not the same. Furthermore, still according to Morpurgo, certain word-forms indi-

1. *Catalogue of the Frances Taylor Pearsons Plimpton collection of Italian books and manuscripts in the Library of Wellesley College*, compiled by Margaret Hastings Jackson. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1929; see pp. 229, 401.

cate that the copyist was not from Florence, but from further south. However, the non-Florentine forms, particularly in the *Noie*, are not sufficiently numerous or important to detract from the authority of this text, which is generally correct and clear in its readings (the few exceptions in the *Noie* are noted with the text below). The pages are about 30 × 22 cm. in size, with two columns to the page, and regularly four ottave or eleven terzine to the column.

The twenty-two poems preserved in whole or in part in this manuscript form, as Morpurgo says, a repertory of Pucci's compositions intended for public recitation. (The *Centiloquio*, the sonnets, and the prose are not included in it.) The first four poems, in which the most serious losses occur, are romantic tales: 1. *Reina d'Oriente*; 2. *Bruto di Bretagna*; 3. *Apollonio di Tiro*; 4. *Madonna Lionessa*; all except No. 2 are found in other manuscripts (see Ezio Levi, *Fiore di Leggende*, Bari, 1914). No. 5, *Bellezze di Mercato Vecchio*, like No. 6, *Le Noie*, is found in many manuscripts. No. 8 is a *canzone di femine tristizia* (entitled *Contrasto delle donne* by A. D'Ancona, who edited it in *Propugnatore*, II, II, 412-38). No. 11 is on the *belle donne* of Florence in 1335. Nos. 7, 9, 10, 12-22 are on historical or political subjects (Nos. 10-14, 16-20, 22 being *serventesi* rhyming AAAb, BBBc, etc.), as follows: 7. *Ballata ai Lucchesi*. 9. *La Guerra Pisana* (seven cantari in ottava rima). 10. The flood of 1333. 12. The famine of 1346. 13. The plague of 1348. 14 and 15. *Serventese* and *ballata* on the Duca d'Atene and his banishment from Florence (1343). 16. The loss of Lucca. 17. The reconquest of Lucca. 18, 19. The war with Pisa. 20. The conquest of Padova. 21. *Canzone* addressed to Florence (only the title and one stanza preserved). 22. *Serventese* giving a list of the *podestà* of Florence, a fragment ending with 1367; at least one more folio, now lost, followed. Nos. 2, 11-13, 15-22 are found only in this manuscript. Nos. 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, so far as I

am aware, are unpublished. The editions of the poems published are mentioned in the Bibliography.

2. — Cod. Magliabechiano B. 3. 268 (Conventi soppressi: Camaldoli) cart. ff. 79. sec. XV. (F)

f. 1r [no heading]  
I priegho la divina maestade...  
f. 7r Anoina me chi queste noie muta  
sanza la parola danton pucci  
che a questa parte al vostro honor compiuta  
Nolle mutar se non uuoj ch i mi crucci.  
*finite le noie.*

98 terzine.

3. — Cod. Magliabechiano VII. 9. 375. cart. ff. 129. sec. XV. (M)

f. 55r *Le noie dantonio pucci*  
I' priegho la divina maestade...  
f. 60r Annoia me soprattutto  
chi porta i zoccoli per l'asciutto.  
*Amen.*

81 terzine, plus one couplet.

Stamped on the binding: *Zibaldone di Rime diverse*; ff. 1-2 contain the *rubriche*, ff. 3, 102v-129 are blank. Other works of Pucci:

f. 25 *Vecchiezza viene all'uomo: quand' ella viene...*

(With Pucci's name; also in mss. CGN of the *Noie* and elsewhere; published by Arlia in *Propugnatore*, XIV, 1, 163-69, and by Ferri, p. 219; cf. p. xxviii, above).

f. 46v-51v *Delle bellezze di merchato vecchio.*

f. 74v-79v *Le bellezze di Firenze fatte per Antonio Pucci.*  
Mille trecento sessantatre chorrendo...

(This is canto xci of the *Centiloquio*, which is found as a separate poem in several manuscripts; the date 1363 is note-

worthy, as elsewhere it is either 1373 or 1376. The first verse should begin with *Settanta*, since the letter *s* is called for by Pucci's acrostic.)

There are also fables in *terza rima* and in sonnet-form, and other sonnets, some of which are in other manuscripts ascribed to Pucci; several *ottave* taken from his *Guerra Pisana*; and (f. 41v) a *Serventese della morte di Carlo Duca figliuol del re Uberto di Napoli*, beginning "Gran dolor che lo cuor mi cuocie," published by A. Medin, *Lamenti de' secoli XIV e XV*, Firenze, 1883, p. 13, and ascribed by him to A. Pucci. See K. McKenzie, "Italian Fables in Verse," in *PMLA*, XXI (1906), 231-67; *Inventari*, XIII (1905), 80-83.

4. — Cod. Magliabechiano II. ii. 40 (old number, VII. 3.1010 = Strozzii 640). cart. ff. 228. sec. XV. (N)

f. 84v *Questo è un trattato che ffece antonio pucci volendo riprendere e'vizi e cchommendare le virtu e cchiamansi le noie*

I' priegho la divina maestade...

f. 85v Annoia me e ssara senpre soprattutto  
Chie e zoccholi porta pellascutto  
Onde ne sia lalto iddio lodato. —  
deo ghraçias ammenne.

70 terzine, plus three verses.

Followed immediately in middle of column by:

*Sonetto d'ammaestamento nota*

Quel giovane chevvuele avere onore...

This manuscript also contains other sonnets ascribed elsewhere to Pucci, including (f. 126):

Fior di virtù si è gentil choraggio...  
Quando 'l fanciullo da ppiccholo iscioccheggia...  
(Ferri, p. 203)

and the following longer poems :



f. 82 *Queste sono le bellezze di Firenze fecele Anton Pucci*  
Settanta tre mille trecento chorrendo...

f. 126 *Vecchiezza viene all'uom. quand'ella viene...*

(Here anonymous, but by Pucci; see mss. CGM.)

ff. 127-29 *Stanze del chontrasto dell'omo e della donna*  
Nuova quistion di femmina trestizia... (54 ottave)

(also in A and other mss.)

See *Inventari*, VIII (1898), pp. 151-62; A. Bartoli, *I Manoscritti nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, I, p. 345 ff.

From the text of this manuscript the first thirteen terzine of the *Noie* were printed by D. M. Manni in *Poesie di A. P.*, Vol. I, pp. xvii-xviii.

5. — Cod. Magliabechiano VII. 1168. cart. sec.  
XIV. (R)

f. 106r *Qui cominciano ciertj bruttj chostumi ja antonio puccj.*

Io priegho la divina maestade...

i. 109v *Adnoia me chinquesto mondo vive*  
*e peta o rutti di suo voluntate*  
*che sono usanze misere e chattive.*

62 terzine.

Followed immediately in middle of page by:

*Sonetto di ciriagho d'anchona mandato a messere*  
*lionardo giustiniano gentile huomo di vinegia.*

Quel che con somma e ineffabile arte...

6. — Cod. Palatino 200 (formerly E. 5. 3. 36). cart.  
ff. 116. sec. XV. (H)

f. 47r [no heading]  
Io priecho la divina maestade...

f. 48v chel pover dal piu pover sia chaccato.  
79 terzine.

The verse quoted ends f. 48v; f. 49 is blank.

Date at end of ms.: "Finis Deo gratias Die xxvi ianuarij  
hora tertia iam preterita. M.cccc.lxxijj."

See M. P. Brush, *The Isopo Laurenziano*, Columbus, 1899, p. 12. L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, 1893, I, 642. G. Turturro, *Una famiglia dell'Esopo italiano... con la trascrizione di un Esopo Palatino, ancora inedito*, Bari, Laterza, 1907, pp. 45-54. (Turturro prints inaccurately the text of the 14 fables in this ms., ff. 31r-34v, which are a translation from Marie de France.) F. Palermo, *I Manoscritti Palatini di Firenze*, Firenze, 1853-69, I, 359.

Florence : Biblioteca Marucelliana

7. — Cod. Maruc. C. 152. cart. ff. 139. sec. XV. (C)

f. 129v [no heading]  
I' priegho la divina maestade...

f. 131r A nnoia me chi queste noie muta  
over le cresce senza antonio pucci  
guarda lettore che teco non si crucci.

105 terzine.

Followed in same column by:

*Canzo del detto anton pucci della vecchiezza.*  
Vecchiezza viene alluom quandella viene...

Florence : Biblioteca Laurenziana

8. Cod. Laur. SS. Annunziata 122 (Conventi Soppressi)  
cart. ff. 265. sec. XV. (G)

f. 139v *Annoie fecie*  
Io pregho la divina maestade...

- f. 142v    Anioia me chi queste noie legge  
               che cresce o sciema senza antonio pucci  
               ghuarda lettore che techo non si crucci  
               Anioia me anchora soprattutto  
               quando alchun porta zolcholi per asciutto.  
 83 terzine, plus one couplet.

This interesting manuscript contains miscellaneous poems of the fourteenth century, including *Canzone della Vecchiezza* (f. 133v) and sonnets by Pucci. The *Noie* text ends near the bottom of f. 142 v, and is followed by:

*Chanzone morale fecie*  
 O spirito celeste o vivo sole...

Florence : Biblioteca Riccardiana

9. — Cod. Ricc. 1070 (formerly R. III. 10).      cart.  
 ff. 46.      sec. XV. (V)

- f. 31v                                [no heading]  
               I priego la divina maestade...  
 f. 32v      Annoia me chi fosse chon altrui  
               e partesi dallui senza comiato  
               come lasciato in cotal modo fui.

71 terzine.

There are three terzine, ending as above, at the top of the first column on f. 32v, and the remainder of the page is blank except that a later hand has added a partly illegible line ending with the word *mercato*.

This manuscript is composed of two parts originally separate: the first, ff. 1-36, contains *Il Corbaccio* by Boccaccio (ff. 1-23); and the second contains part of his *Vita di Dante* (ff. 37-43). The *Noie* are preceded by three capitoli of the *Fiore di Virtù* (ff. 30r-31r) and followed by *I Chasati di Luccha* (f. 33) and three blank leaves. See S. Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, Roma, 1900, I, 58-59.

10. — Cod. Ricc. 1185, Vol. I. cart. ff. 44. sec. XV. (O)  
(Under No. 1185 are included 6 volumes).

f. 39r                      *Queste si chiamano Anoie.*

[A later hand has added: "E di Anton Pucci mutila al fine. E' una satira contro i costumi Italici." Terzine 1 and 2 are omitted.]

Riprendere voglio alchuno brutto chostume...

f. 41r      A noia me sopra tuto  
              chi porto e zocholi per lascuto.  
                              *finite lanoie.*

63 terzine, plus one couplet.

Other works by Pucci: ff. 1r-2v *Queste si chiamano le beleze di merchato vechio* (a later hand has added: "Poesia rinterzata di Anton Pucci di cui fa menzione Franco Sacchetti nella Parte II delle sue novelle"). To this is added, as if forming part of it, a fragment of the serventese *Quella di chui io son veracemente* (Ferri, p. 214). Between this text and the *Noie* are (ff. 3r-36v) the collection of fables known as *Esopo volgarizzato per Uno da Siena* (8 ff. have been lost); and (ff. 37r-38v) *Epistola di santo bernardo*. Following the *Noie*, ff. 41v-44v, *Chalendario* and arithmetical problems.

See McKenzie, "Italian Fables in Verse" in *PMLA*, XXI, 228; S. Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana*, I, 239.

This manuscript was used by Ildefonso di San Luigi (see *Poesie di A. P.*, Vol. IV, pp. vii-ix; p. 285) to furnish a few readings; he says it was owned by Nobile Sig. Marchese Suddecano Gabbrielle Riccardi (Vol. I, p. 270, among the subscribers to the publication is mentioned: Illustriss. e Reverendiss. Sig. March. Suddecano Gabbriello Riccardi).

11. — Cod. Ricc. 2183. cart. ff. 77. sec. XV. (T)



- f. 18r                    *Qui cominciano le noie*  
                          I' priegho la divina maestade...
- f. 19v    Annoia me chi femmine cho maschi  
                          ruzzin sott onbra dalchun parentado  
                          chalchuna volta sapicchian di ma fiaschi.

63 terzine.

Followed in same column by a serventese:

*Qui sono cose che fecie Rugieri al pugliese.*

This manuscript contains a Tuscan bestiary entitled "Natura degli animali" — not, however, the text edited by Garver and McKenzie in *Studi Romanzi*, VIII, although the prologue is the same; this is followed by "Rime varie," including the *Noie* and the *Mercato Vecchio*, and "Ricette." See Goldstaub und Wendriner, *Ein Tosco-venezianischer Bestiarius*, Halle, 1892, p. 80.

12. — Cod. Ricc. 2854.      sec. XV. (D)

- f. 106r                    [no heading]  
                          Priegho la divina maestade...
- f. 110v    Annoia me chi queste cose muta  
                          over le cresce sansa antonio pucci.  
                          al vostro honore questa parte e conpiuta  
                          Nollo mutar se non vuoi me ne crucej.  
                          *Amen finis Deo gratias*

102 terzine.

This is the manuscript from which the *Noie* was published by Ildefonso di San Luigi in 1775; see *Poesie di Antonio Pucci*, Vol. IV, pp. VIII-IX: "... è stato da noi copiato similmente dal Codice Riccardiano in quarto, segnato n. xxvi. sotto la scanzia O. III. riferito nel suddetto luogo dal Lami, e scritto forse nel secolo XVI." (The reference is to Giovanni Lami, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Riccardiana Florentiae adservantur*, Livorno, 1756.) The identification is made certain by the corres-

pondence of the order of *terzine* in the manuscript and in the edition, as well as the readings of the individual *terzine*; and by the omission in both of the third verse of *terzina* 83. The variations, except for the editor's intentional changes, are slight. From the 1775 edition the text was reprinted in *Raccolta di Rime Antiche Toscane*, Vol. III, pp. 311-20, Palermo, 1817; and by Ferri in 1909, pp. 235-42 (with the missing verse of *terz.* 83 supplied). See description of editions 2, 3, 5, below.

Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria

13. — Cod. 147. membr. ff. 110. sec. XIV-XV. (J)

f. 108v *Quive se chomença le noglie del patechia ut infra,  
etc.*

I preghio la divina maestate...

f. 110v *Anoglia me quando le domandato  
Lemosena per dio a piu persone  
Chel pover sia da piu gente schazato.*

81 *terzine*.

See *Inventari*, XV, p. 145, No. 235 (147). F. Zambrini, in *Propugnatore*, I, 507-09. F. Pellegrini, "Di due poesie del secolo XIV," in *GSLI*, XVI (1890), 341-52.

The heading in this manuscript, *le noglie del patechia*, has sometimes been quoted to show how the name of Girardo Pateg or Patecchio, of Cremona, had become associated with the *Noie*-genre to such an extent that it is here attached to Pucci's poem.<sup>1</sup> This may be due in part to

1. See, for instance, D'Ancona, *La Poesia popolare italiana*, 2a ed., Livorno, 1906, p. 16 n.; "In un codice ho trovato il componimento del Pucci col titolo *Le Noie del Patecchia*, quasi come il nome del primo autore fosse rimasto indivisibile dall'argomento, e il professor Flam. Pellegrini lo riscontrò in altro cod. bolognese." If the manuscript in which D'Ancona found this title is a different one from J, it is not one of those included in the present list. In 1883 F. Novati, who afterwards published the text of Patecchio,

the fact that the scribe who copied this manuscript was from northern Italy: for, as Pellegrini points out, "il capitolo, sulla pretta toscanità del cui autore non può cader dubbio, presenta un spiccata tinta dialettale alt'italiana, non dissimile da quella che riscontreremo nello stesso codice nei versi intorno alla natura delle frutta." The recurring phrase is here *Anoglia me*. Northern dialect forms are frequent also in ms. E (*Anogia me* or *mi*), and a few are found in ms. B. Pellegrini comments on the order of *terzine* in J, as being different from the order in the printed text (D). He states that part of J dates from the early fourteenth century, but that some short compositions, including the *Noie*, were added at the end of that century or early in the fifteenth.

14. — Cod. 158. membr. ff. 103. sec. XIV. (K)

f. 8r

*Cominciano le Noie*

Io prego la divina maiestade...

f. 9v

Anoja me quando elli e dimandato  
Limosina per dio a piu persone  
Chel povero sia da piu povero caciato.

81 *terzine*.

See *Inventari*, XV, pp. 155-57, No. 242 (158). F. Zambrini, *Libro della Cucina*, Bologna, 1863 (*Scelta*, XL), pp. xx-xxiii. Ezio Levi, *Fiore di leggende*, p. 364.

In this manuscript the *Noie* is followed (ff. 10r-11r) by *Doctrina de lo schiavo de bari*, and this by five sonnets, of which the first (f. 11v), with the heading *Vita duno giovine*, is the sonnet which in I and N follows the *Noie*. The three following sonnets are here ascribed, probably correctly, to Pucci: *Io non posso trovar chi ficchi l'agho* (ascribed to

asserted (of course by a misunderstanding) that Pucci himself "chiamava il suo componimento *le Noie del Patecchia*" (*GSLI*, I, 413 n.).

him also in Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, f. 71; to Orcagna in Cod. Magliab. II. iv. 250, f. 197; to Burchiello in Cod. Riccard. 1109, f. 125; published in *Sonetti del Burchiello*, Londra, 1757, p. 116; Ferri, p. 282); *Manchando a la cicala che mangiare*, the fable of the grasshopper and the ant, and its moral in another sonnet with the same rhymes: *Da la formica si vole imparare* (see McKenzie, "Italian Fables in Verse" in *PMLA*, XXI, pp. 244-46, and "Note sulle antiche favole italiane" in *Miscellanea in onore di V. Crescini*, Cividale del Friuli, [1910], 1927). Ferri gives these two sonnets separately, pp. 199, 183, as if they had no connection, although on p. 34 he says that one "proceeds from" the other. They are found in other manuscripts both separately and together. It should be noted that this manuscript is older than the period of Burchiello.

Other works by Pucci: *Reina d'oriente* (ff. 59-68); *Apolonio di Tiro* (ff. 72-83). The latter is followed by *Libro di cucina* (ed. Guerrini, Bologna, 1887), and *Libro de la cocina* (ed. Zambrini, *op. cit.*), which ends the manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

15. — Cod. 2457. cart. ff. 212. sec. XV. (L)

f. 206v [no heading]  
Io prego la divina magestade...

f. 210r Et sopra tuti anoglia me colui  
Che fa strassio di se per dar dilecto altrui.

*Finis*

79 terzine, plus one couplet.

1. In Cod. 157 of the same library, a manuscript of sec. xv containing miscellaneous religious and didactic prose and verse, is a poem in ottava rima on the Legend of Santa Margarita which has the same first line as the *Noie*. It begins:

Io prego la divina maiestade  
Padre e Figliuolo col Spirito Santo  
Gratia mi presti per la sua pietate  
Chio possa raccontar con dolce canto  
Una legenda, ecc.

See Zambrini in *Propugnatore* I, 270; *Inventari* XV, No. 241.



See *Inventari*, XXIII, pp. 98-99, No. 1433 (former number, 2457; still older number, 41); but since the description in this catalogue stops with f. 205, the two works which follow on ff. 206-12 (including the *Noie*) are not mentioned, either here or in the index. For this information I am indebted to Professor Alfredo Galletti, who was kind enough to look up the manuscript for me.

Rome : Biblioteca Vaticana

16. — Cod. Vat. Lat. 3216. ff. 49. sec. XIV. (B)

f. 36r [no heading]  
Io priego la divina maestade...

f. 37v A noia me chi queste noie muta  
Over le cresie senza antonio puzi  
Cha questa parte al vostro honor conpiuta.  
Non le mutar si non vuo che me cruzi.

105 terzine.

See Marco Vattasso, *I codici petrarcheschi della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Roma, 1908 (*Studi e Testi*, 20), pp. 24-25, No. 21.

17. — Cod. Vat. Urb. 697. cart. ff. 110. sec. XIV. (P)

f. 54r [no heading]  
Io priegho la divina [superna cancelled] maes-  
[tade...]

f. 57v Annoia me quandegli e dimandato  
Limoçina per dio a piu persone  
Chel men possente al povero dia chomiato.  
*Amen In nom. Dom. pucci.*

59 terzine.

From this manuscript the text of the *Noie* was published in 1884, by E. Narducci, "Annoia me' galateo del secolo xiv," in *Il Buonarroti*, ser. III, Vol. II, quaderno 1, pp. 32-35, but without mention of Pucci's name, although this

appears to be given in the almost illegible words following the *Noie* in the manuscript.

18. — Cod. Chigiano M. V. 108. sec. XIV. (Q)

f. 105r *boni mores*  
Io prego la divina maestade...  
f. 108r Anioia me quando elle dimandato  
limosina per dio a piu persone  
chel povero sia dal piu povero cacciato.  
*Deo Gratias. Amen*  
*Amen Amen*

59 terzine.

A note on this manuscript states: "Questo codice fu di circa il 1350. Fu acquistato da Bene Magalorsi nel 1456 e contiene le Poesie di Cecco d'Ascoli."

Venice : Biblioteca Marciana

19. — Cod. It. IX. 204. cart. ff. 199. sec. XV. (U)

f. 107v [no heading]  
Annoia me chie in Sancti al predicare...  
f. 110r Che nolli monta subito sul pecto.  
*finis*

49 terzine.

Following the shelf-number is : (6879). This manuscript belonged to Apostolo Zeno, and contains his book-plate; "provenienza: Zeno Apostolo 299." It is a miscellany of originally separate units bound together, with several blank pages. The first six terzine of the *Noie* are omitted, and the final terzina is peculiar to this manuscript. The "finis" of the *Noie* is followed by these three lines, the remaining third of f. 110r being blank:

Non gire al consiglio se non ci se chiamo  
(l. se' chiamato)

Ne ad arengo se non ce sonato  
Ne alle noze se non se invitato

Among other compositions are a *sonetto caudato* (f. 85 v) beginning:

Femina fu principio di peccato,

and in prose (ff. 92r-98r):

*Consiglio di non pigliar moglie.*

Foligno : Biblioteca Comunale

20. — (S)

[no heading]

Io prego la divina magestade...

Nella scudella el torni a mano a mano.

42 terzine.

No information concerning this manuscript is available, except a copy of the text made in 1882 by A. Mancinelli for S. Morpurgo, with the statement that the *Noie* is preceded by *Leggenda di S. Feliciano*, and that pages following the 42 terzine have been lost.

Oxford : Bodleian Library

21. — Cod. Canoniciano 263. sec. XV.

f. 131r

[no heading]

Io priego la divina maestade...

f. 133r

A nogia me chie senza mestieri  
sapogia a mensa e chon un brazo strinze  
chon laltro manzi zia chome poltronieri.

*Finis.*

59 terzine.

See A. Mortara, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani Canonici*, Oxford, 1864. The manuscript contains a miscellany of prose and verse, with Venetian dialect forms; the date is indicated (f. 201) by a list of Doges of Venice to the year 1478.

From this manuscript the text, with a study of the dialect and variants from mss. A and D, was published by Kenneth McKenzie, "The Oxford Text of the 'Noie' of Antonio Pucci," in *Anniversary Papers by colleagues and pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, Boston and London, Ginn & Co., 1913, pp. 175-83.

## II. Editions

1. — Edition without date, place, or printer's name; the only copy known is in the Biblioteca Comunale at Imola, No. 109. Described by Romeo Galli, *I manoscritti e gli incunaboli della Biblioteca Comunale d'Imola*, 1894, pp. 81-82. Cited with the manuscripts as "I".

This edition, evidently a chapbook, consists of four folios in quarto, printed in round characters, without heading and without numbering of any sort; the author's name is not mentioned. It is bound with *Fioretti di S. Francesco* printed by N. Girardengo in 1480, and may be assigned to the period 1480-90. The text contains 82 *terzine* followed immediately by a sonnet of 17 verses — in all, 263 verses (Galli, mistaking the sonnet for five *terzine*, says 87 *terzine*).

Beginning and end of text:

f. 1r I' Priego la divina maiestade...

f. 4v Et sopra tutto tema et ami dio.

A complete manuscript copy of the text was generously given to me in 1922 by Professor Ezio Levi. In 1927 Professor Lawrence Levensgood of Princeton University was good enough to visit Imola in order to inspect the unique copy of this edition and to verify certain readings; on this occasion Signor Galli courteously gave him every facility and confirmed the statements in his catalogue of the library, cited above. Apparently this incunabulum has been mentioned by no other bibliographer. In general the text



corresponds to that of the manuscripts (Group II), but there are several individual readings (e. g., *vilio*, terz. 48; *o in piazza o in strada*, terz. 88) and one individual *terzina* (105a, immediately preceding the final sonnet): the most interesting variant is *invitata sanese*, terz. 76, where in all the manuscripts the expectation that an invited guest will pay his share is called *pratese*. Does this variant indicate antipathy for Siena, or a desire to defend Prato? In content and in orthography, "I" compares favorably with many of the manuscripts, and it is cited with the manuscripts in the variants given here with the text. The concluding *terzine* and the sonnet are quoted and discussed below, under the heading "Additions to the Text."

2. — *Delle Poesie di Antonio Pucci... Pubblicate da Fr. Ildefonso di San Luigi*, Firenze, Cambiagi, 1772-75, 4 vols. Text given in Vol. IV, pp. 275-85, from ms. D, with some readings from O incorporated in the text (see pp. viii-ix, 285) and some arbitrary changes by the editor, which are indicated in notes without giving the manuscript readings. D omits *terzine* 78, 79, 92, which occur only in ABC and evidently were inaccessible to the editor; and it also omits the third verse of 83, a *terzina* given in many manuscripts but omitted by ON. In addition these to omissions from D, the editor omits also *terzina* 80 (without preserving the rhyme), and completely rewrites verse 2 in terz. 85 and verses 2-3 in terz. 95, this last ending *in ozio ben pasciuto*. In Vol. I of this work (1772), pp. xvii-xviii, in the *Notizie storiche intorno ad Antonio Pucci*, D. M. Manni gives the first thirteen *terzine* according to ms. N.

Based on a manuscript of Group I, the text is, with the exceptions mentioned, in the main trustworthy; and since it was, from 1775 on, so to speak the *volgata* of the *Noie*, its chief variations from its manuscript and from our critical text are enumerated under the heading "Additions to the Text."

3. — *Raccolta di Rime Antiche Toscane*, Palermo, Assenzio, 1817, 4 vols. (so-called Villarosa collection). Text in Vol. III, pp. 311-20. The text follows the 1775 edition with insignificant changes (*noja* for *noia* throughout, *d'accanto* for *daccanto*, *poter* for *poterl*, *rimpassa* for *rimpaffa*; and in *terz.* 95, *cornuto* for *pasciuto*); the numbering of the *terzine*, and the notes, are omitted.

4. — E. Narducci, "*Annoia me*" *Galateo del secolo XIV*, in *Il Buonarroti*, Ser. III, Vol. II, 1884, pp. 32-35. The text is printed from ms. P, without mention of Pucci's name and without reference to any other manuscript or edition.

5. — Ferruccio Ferri, *La Poesia popolare in Antonio Pucci*, Bologna, Beltrami, 1909, pp. 235-42. The text is reprinted from the 1775 edition without change, except occasionally in the punctuation; the notes and the numbering of *terzine* are omitted. Ferri gives, from Bilancioni, an inaccurate list of some fourteen manuscripts; but the only use he made of them was to supply (apparently from ms. J) the missing third verse of *terzina* 83.

6. — Kenneth McKenzie, *Le Noie di Antonio Pucci secondo la lezione del codice di Wellesley già Kirkupiano*, in *Studii dedicati a Francesco Torraca nel XXXVI anniversario della sua laurea*, Napoli, F. Perrella, 1912, pp. 179-90. The text of ms. A; a few errors of transcription are corrected in the present edition.

7. — Kenneth McKenzie, *The Oxford text of the Noie of Antonio Pucci*, in *Anniversary Papers by colleagues and pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, Boston and London, Ginn & Co., 1913, pp. 175-83. The text of ms. E, with notes on its dialect.

8. — The present edition.

7. — CLASSIFICATION OF MANUSCRIPTS WITH TABLE OF  
TERZINE

In making a classification of the manuscripts (including as a manuscript the incunabulum edition), the first step is to compare them as to content. The text consists of *terzine* which form so many units, separable as to sense but connected in a definite order by the rhyme-scheme. Using the numerical order of A as the standard, we find that this manuscript has 105 *terzine*, plus a couplet at the end (No. 106) which is found nowhere else. Four other manuscripts have from 95 to 105 *terzine*, the rest having from 42 to 84 (the majority between 59 and 81). There is a strong general tendency in all the manuscripts to arrange the *terzine* in the same order; but there are variations, some common to a number of manuscripts, others (particularly in PQTU) individual. In some cases where *terzine* are omitted, added, or shifted in position, the rhyme-scheme is kept intact by changes of wording; in other cases, this is not done. For instance, *terzina* 48 is omitted in B, and the rhyme-scheme is broken, since no change has been made in 47 or 49 to preserve it. This omission, however, was obviously due to an oversight, for 47 ends the first column on a page and 49 begins the second column, and the scribe in passing from one column to the next must have unintentionally skipped 48 (which is present in every other manuscript except S). In A there are two verses (6, 78) which do not rhyme as they do in the other manuscripts; in these cases the final word in the line has been substituted (doubtless through carelessness in copying) for the original word, without other change. In H, *terzine* 2 and 4 are omitted; verses 2 and 7 have been changed so that they rhyme, but verse 9 does not rhyme with 5 and 7. In D, three *terzine* are omitted and the rhyme is preserved. In O, *terzine* 1, 2 and 4 are omitted, and 3 does not rhyme with 5. Irregularities such as these are found more or less generally.

Five of the manuscripts, ABCDE, agree in the order of *terzine* up to 77 — except that E comes to an end with *terzina* 59, that 48 is omitted in B (see above), and that two *terzine*, not found elsewhere, are inserted in C after 13 (the rhyme-words of 13 and 14 being changed to keep the scheme intact). In all the other manuscripts, *terzina* 12 is omitted; in RSTUV, 13 is omitted also, but in FGHJKLMNPQ it is shifted in position and follows 90, and in O it comes between 69 and 89. In HJKPQ the text ends with 13 (following 90); in F, 13 is followed by 93-105; in GLMN it is followed by from two to eight verses not found in ABCDEF, the text ending with a couplet. In O the text ends with the same couplet as in GMN. In the *incunabulum* I, 13 is followed by an individual *terzina*, 105a, and this by a sonnet.

Thus, in the omission of *terzina* 12, and the omission of 13 or its shifting to a position at or near the end of the text, we have a basis for separating from the manuscripts ABCDE, which we may call Group I, a second group containing all the others. It remains to be seen whether this grouping is confirmed: first, by other data in the arrangement of the *terzine*; and second, by systematic differences of wording. Disregarding certain individual omissions or other peculiarities, we find that *terzine* 54, 55, 56 of Group I are also present in F, but are omitted in the remainder of Group II. In F, as in Group I, *terzine* 15, 16 follow 14; in the remainder of Group II (except NU, which omit them) the first verse of 15 is combined with the second verse of 16 and a new verse which preserves the rhyme; verses 2 and 3 of 15, and 1 and 3 of 16 being omitted. The resulting composite *terzina* in Group II (except F) may be considered a variant of 16, and be so numbered; its essential part is the second verse, which is identical with the second verse of 16 in Group I. Thus in the treatment of *terzine* 15, 16, 54, 55, 56, F agrees with Group I. On the other hand, in all of Group II, including F, *terzine* 63, 64, 65, 77, 78, 79



are omitted; most of the manuscripts of this group, including F, shift 80-88 to a position between 62 and 66, keeping the rhyme intact by inserting an extra *terzina* which we call 62a between 62 and 80; and one which we call 65a between 88 and 66. These added *terzine* are not found in Group I. Their text, with that of all the verses occurring in any of the manuscripts but not found in A, is given after the text as here edited from A.

In AB, *terzina* 90 is followed by 91-105; in C, by 91-102, 105; in D, by 91, 93-105. Turning to Group II, 90 is followed in F by 13, 93-105; in G by 13, 105, together with 104a which is peculiar to G, and a couplet 106a, which is found also in MNO. Thus, while in other respects belonging to Group II, F has seventeen *terzine* (15, 54-56, 93-105) and G has one *terzina* (105) not found elsewhere except in Group I. This phenomenon is easily explained if we assume that the scribes who copied F and G followed as a model some manuscript (not now known) which belonged to Group II, but at the same time had access to one belonging to Group I. There are individual peculiarities in several of the manuscripts, with little attempt to keep the rhyme-scheme intact; but otherwise the order of *terzine* in Group II is fairly uniform, though not so uniform as in the five manuscripts of Group I. No two manuscripts, however, correspond exactly. In Group I, B is like A in content except for the accidental omission of 48; C lacks 103, 104, and adds two *terzine* (13a, 13b) not found elsewhere; D lacks 78, 79, 92 and one verse of 83; E stops with 59.

When we consider the wording of the text, in order to determine whether it confirms the division of the manuscripts into two groups, we find cases where Group I has consistently one reading, Group II another. In some cases the wording is varied for the sake of the rhyme. For instance, in Group I the second verse of *terzina* 11 reads: *Quando è in atto di confesione*, rhyming with *orazione* and *intenzione* in 12; whereas in Group II, *terzina* 11 being

followed (except in N and U) by 14, the verse reads, with minor variations: *Standogli a pie per contargli (dire) i peccati*, rhyming with *sagrati* and *beati* of 14. In N the verse reads as in the rest of Group II, but as 11 is followed by 16 in this manuscript, there is no rhyme for *peccati*. In U, 11-17 are omitted.

The second verse of 62 reads in Group I: *Chi mangia aghrume e poi tra le persone*, rhyming with *pone* and *bastone* in 63; in Group II: *Chi mangia agrumi e poi con altri fore* (or, *in chasa poi di fore*), rhyming with *savore* and *flore* in 62a. Here the different readings of the two groups preserve the rhyme, as also in the second verse of 88 (A *disonesto*, BCD *manifesto*; Group II, *strada*). But in other cases the rhyme is not a factor. In the second verse of *terzina* 87, Group I and F have *trastullatore*; Group II (except F) has *chantatore*, *dicitore* or *zanzadore* — all of which rhyme with *dicitore* (H *oratore*, K *parlatore*, L *cantadore*) in the first verse of 88. The third verse of 88 reads in Group I: *e chi nel priegha li fa pocho onore*; in Group II: *s'egli è persona ch'ami punto honore*. The second verse of 25 in Group I: *che fuor d'ogni misura parla tanto*; in Group II: *che (chi) smisuratamente parla tanto* (here the meaning is equivalent. Yet even so the unanimity of each group is noteworthy). In *terzina* 13 the second verse begins in Group I: *del ben per dio*, and in Group II (with a different rhyme-word, and, as stated before, shifted in position): *limosina per dio*. The third verse of 52 begins in A *agli udittor*, in BCDE *sopra il mangiar*; in Group II: *ai mangiatori*.

On the other hand, some few variations of wording are common to both groups. In *terzina* 39, the first verse ends with *pregia* in ABDE and in HLOPRUV; with *fregia* in C and in FGIJKMST. In this case the reading *fregia* is correct, since the rhyme-word two verses above is *pregia* in all manuscripts. In the first verse of 9 we find in A *qualunque al predicare*; in DE and in LO *ch'in chiesa al predicare*; in BC and in most of Group II, *ch'in santo al predi-*

*care*. In the third verse of 48, ACE, with HIJKLPQ, read *fa brutta la faccia*, while D and FGMNORV read *fa turbar la faccia*. In the third verse of 82, ABD and JLMPR read *d'un volere*, while C and FHIKNOTUV read *d'un pensiero*, and G reads *il pensieri*. These variants common to both groups are few in number, and in no way invalidate the division into groups, or furnish evidence for any other grouping. F and G tend to go together, but they agree now with C, now with D, as against the rest of Group I. No evidence has been discovered which would tend to show that any one of the known manuscripts was copied from any other. Group I in general, and A in particular (if certain individual readings are eliminated), represent most nearly the archetype of all the manuscripts, Pucci's autograph, which can be reconstructed in a general way, but not with certainty in every detail. The characteristic order of *terzine* and readings of Group II were introduced in a manuscript now lost, from which the extant manuscripts of this group descended; and it would be possible to reconstitute approximately this archetype of Group II.

There are several reasons for regarding the text of the *Noie* in A as the most authoritative, even though it is known not to be the original autograph, and even though it contains some obviously erroneous readings. In the first place, this manuscript, written almost certainly during Pucci's lifetime and undoubtedly the oldest one in existence in which the *Noie* is found, is made up exclusively of poems by Pucci, many of which are not known to exist in any other manuscript. Most of these poems have Pucci's name woven into the verse as a guarantee of his authorship. This manuscript must, then, have been written by someone having unusual opportunities to obtain the text of Pucci's writings; and in it the text of the *Noie* includes more verses than in any other manuscript. The couplet at the end may well be an addition in A; but the rest of the text seems to represent most closely the intentions of the author, and it

is not difficult to surmise that the whole manuscript may have been written more or less under his supervision.

In three other manuscripts, BCD, the *Noie* has nearly as many verses as in A, and in the same order. No one of them, however, can be the original text or an exact copy of it; they all have errors in wording or in rhyme, and omit verses that are contained in A. In these four manuscripts, as well as in F and G, the last *terzina* is No. 105, in which the name of Antonio Pucci as author occurs in rhyme, with a warning not to change or increase the *Noie*. The manuscripts of Group I, in fact, present no more variation than might be expected in the case of copyists, no doubt ignorant and somewhat careless, who intended to keep close to the text of their model. But once the poem became widely known, perhaps even recited and written down from memory, copyists took all manner of liberties with the text, in particular the liberty of adding new verses which in most cases are entirely out of harmony with what Pucci had written. Several of these additions are not even *terzine*, but couplets. Indeed, it seems probable that not a single one of the additions, whether individual as in CGKLMU, or common to several manuscripts of Group II, was produced by Pucci himself. It is conceivable, of course, that he may have made two or more redactions of his poem; but this seems highly improbable when we consider his injunction against changes, and the certainty that in a text of this kind changes and additions would nevertheless be made by others as the poem became widely known and copied.

Not only is ms. A contemporary with the author, but the text of the *Noie* therein contained is arranged logically according to subject-matter. The two chief cases of shifted order that characterize Group II infringe the logical arrangement. *Terzina* 13, concerning charity to beggars, belongs naturally with the series of *terzine* 6-16, which give rules for proper behavior in church; this is the arran-



gement in Group I, whereas, in Group II, 12 and 15 are omitted and 13, if retained at all, is put at or near the end of the text. In Group I, terzine 80-88 are logically placed with other miscellaneous rules for behavior in general, and terzine 41-67 form a series concerning table-manners (a vague indication of this being perhaps the fact that, in A, terz. 41 and 68 begin exceptionally *A noia tantto m'è* instead of the usual *A noia m'è*); but, in Group II, 80-88 are shifted and interrupt the series, coming between 62 and 66, with the omission of 63-65 and the insertion of new terzine to preserve the rhyme even though the logical sequence is not preserved. One may conclude from this evidence that Group I, as was already made probable by other evidence, is nearer than Group II to the original order of terzine, thus confirming the importance of the text of A.

In discussing the language of A as a whole, Morpurgo cites a number of non-Tuscan forms such as *signur*, *fiurentini*, *coscina* (cucina), *posa* (poscia), *sienza*, etc. None of the forms which he cites are, as it happens, found in the *Noie*; and at the most they point to a copyist who was not native to Tuscany. On the other hand, the use of single consonants for double, as in *mesa*, *mezo*, *cierchase*, *dona*, *done*, *vegiendo*, *Puci*, and the almost invariable doubling of *t*, as in *eterna*, *saluttatto*, *prette*, *partte*, as well as the spellings *cie-*, *cho-*, etc., are characteristics which are not foreign to Florentine orthography.<sup>1</sup> In fact, one may question whether *tt* was felt to be a double letter, especially in such words as *alquantto*, *ttantto*, rather than a way of writing *t*. As Morpurgo states in conclusion, these forms and the errors in A do not conceal the original text nor detract from the value of A as a derivative from it.<sup>2</sup>

1. Cf. A. Schiaffini, *Testi fiorentini del Dugento e dei primi del Trecento*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1926, p. x, where our text is cited.

2. "Ma nemmeno le anzidette velature d'altro dialetto, nè per qualità nè per quantità, offuscano in alcun modo il testo originario, che si ravvisa sempre facilmente e che procede quasi sempre molto chiaro e corretto. Questo codice sarà, dunque, fondamentale

The manuscript corresponding most closely to A in content is B; but in orthography it is less close than several others. It has not only single *c* and *s* like A (*dibaso gli ochi* in both), but single *t* (*ato, deto*), and on the other hand, sometimes double *l* (*vuolle, parolle*); also *x* for *s* (*uxanza, dixio*), *z* for *gi* (*pezo*) or *c* (*dize*); it rhymes *giogla: noia* and *rixa: guisa: fissa* (A: *risa: ghuisa: fisa*). E, which in content agrees exactly with A so far as it goes (59 *terzine*), has many such forms with *x* and *z*, and as the repeated phrase, *A nogia me* (*zolgia: nogia*; see McKenzie in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 175-83). J gives the repeated phrase as *A noglia me*, and has forms like *azo, dize, dixio, buzzo* (*buccio*), *ziaschun, zoglia, rixia* (*risa*). These three manuscripts thus have in common a certain non-Tuscan coloring, which is most marked in E, but is noticeable in B; it suggests the dialects of northern Italy; while the non-Tuscan forms of A, according to Morpurgo, point to a region south of Tuscany. The incunabulum I also has a few northern forms: *azo* (*acciò*), *faza* (*faccia*), *zoia* (*gioia*). On the other hand, the orthography of C and D, which in content are generally identical with A and B, is purely Tuscan; and the same is true of many manuscripts of Group II. But these differences of spelling probably did not represent equal differences in pronunciation. In verse 3, where ACDFG have *eterna*, BE have *eterna*. In verse 10, where AB(E) have *dibaso gli ochi*, C has *dibasso gli occhi*, D *dibasso gli ochi*, FG *abasso gli occhi*. In verse 16, AE have *mesa*, BCDFG have *messa*. But such variations are not always consistent, and have little significance. It may be said that the spelling in CDFG, etc., is more standardized, perhaps more modernized, than in ABE, and that it appears to be more purely Tuscan; but this does not necessarily indicate that it represents more faithfully the form of the language used by Pucci and his contemporaries, if allowance is made for

per l'edizione delle rime di Antonio Pucci." S. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, in *Bollettino delle Pubblicazioni italiane*, gennaio, 1912, pp. v-vi.

possible individualities of spelling. These various reasons justify taking A as the basis of a critical text, and departing from its readings only when they seem to be definitely erroneous.

The above analysis makes clear the method followed in arranging in order the manuscripts of the *Noie*. A comes first, followed by the other four of Group I in the order of their similarity to A. Next comes F, the most inclusive text of Group II, followed by G; both of these have good readings, and in places show the influence of Group I. Then come the manuscripts which most resemble F and G in order of *terzine* and in readings; and finally the manuscripts showing extensive omissions or other individual variations. Further than this the grouping of the manuscripts is necessarily somewhat arbitrary, since no more definite relationship between them has been discovered.

Here follow a list of the manuscripts in the order of the sigla assigned to them, and a table showing their contents and arrangement. The figures indicate the *terzine* numbered according to A; those not found in A having an added letter, as 62a, 90b, etc. As an exception, 106, 106a, 106b, indicate the couplets occurring at the end of certain manuscripts. The first column gives all the *terzine* as they occur in all the manuscripts. In the other columns, in addition to indicating the order of the *terzine* in the manuscript concerned, each figure is put opposite the number of a *terzina* in the first column to indicate that such *terzina* is included in that manuscript, but not necessarily in the same relative position. Where there is a blank space, the *terzina* indicated in the first column does not occur in the manuscripts concerned. Thus the table shows that *terzina* 12 occurs in ABCDE only; 13 occurs in all manuscripts except RSTUV but in FGHIJKLMNOPQ it comes at or near the end of the text; 13a and 13b occur only in C, 71a only in K, etc.; 80 occurs in ABDC, as well as in FGHIJKLMNOPRTV, but in the latter group it follows 62a, and it is omitted in OPQSU

and in E. Naturally, the table takes no account of variations of text involving units of less than a *terzina*. It is hoped that the information given is all that should be included in such a table, and that the system of arrangement is clear and comprehensive.

*Group I*

- A N.A. 333 (Bib. Naz. Cent., Firenze) — Kirkupiano
- B Vat. Lat. 3216
- C Marucelliano C. 152
- D Riccardiano 2854
- E Bodleian: Canoniciano 263

*Group II*

- F Magliabechiano B. 3. 268 (Camaldoli)
- G Laurenziano SS. Annunziata 122 (Conventi Soppressi)
- H Palatino 200 (Bib. Naz. Cent., Firenze)
- I Imola: Biblioteca Comunale n. CIX [incunabulum]
- J Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 147.
- K Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 158
- L Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. 2457
- M Magliabechiano VII. 9. 375
- N Magliabechiano II. ii. 40
- O Riccardiano 1185
- P Vat. Urb. Lat. 697
- Q Vat. Chigiano M. V. 108
- R Magliabechiano VII. 7. 1168
- S Foligno: Biblioteca Comunale
- T Riccardiano 2183
- U Marciano IX. 204
- V Riccardiano 1070



# TABLE OF SEQUENCE OF TERZINE IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

[illegible]

CLX

LE NOIE

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
24	24	24	24	24	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	45	24	24		24	
25	25	25	25	25	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	27	26	26	26	46	25	25		25	
26	26	26	26	26	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	47	26	26		26	
27	27	27	27	27	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	48	27	27		27	
28	28	28	28	28	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	50	28	28		28	
29	29	29	29	29	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	51	29	29		29	
30	30	30	30	30	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	52	30	30	43	53	30
31	31	31	31	31	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	53	31	31	44	57	31
32	32	32	32	32	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	57	32	32	45	58	32
33	33	33	33	33	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	58	33	33	46	59	33
34	34	34	34	34	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	59	34	34	47		34
35	35	35	35	35	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	37	44	36	36	60	35	35	48	35	35
36	36	36	36	36	37	37	37	37	37	37	38			37	37	22	36	36	49	60	36
37	37	37	37	37	38	38	38	38	38	38		38		38	38	23	37	37	50	61	37
38	38	38	38	38	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39		39	39	24	38	38	51	38	
39	39	39	39	39	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40		40	40		39	39	52	62	39
40	40	40	40	40	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	41		41	41		40	40	53	40	40
41	41	41	41	41	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42		42	42		41	41	57	41	41
42	42	42	42	42	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43		43	43	25	42	42	58	25	42
43	43	43	43	43	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44		44	44	26	43	43	82	26	43
44	44	44	44	44	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45		45	45	27	44	44	84	27	44
45	45	45	45	45	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46		46	46	28	45	45	85	28	45
46	46	46	46	46	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47		47	47	29	46		59	46	46
47	47	47	47	47	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48		48	48	30	47		60	29	47
48	48	48	48	48	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49		49	49	31	48		61	30	48
49	49	49	49	49	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50		50	50	32	49		62	31	49
50	50	50	50	50	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51		51	51	33	50		62 <sup>a</sup>	32	50
51	51	51	51	51	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	52		52	52	34	51		80	33	51
52	52	52	52	52	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53		53	53	35	52		81	18	52
53	53	53	53	53	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54		54	54	35	53		30	22	53
54	54	54	54	54	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55		55	55						
55	55	55	55	55	56																

†

TABLE OF SEQUENCE OF TERZINE IN THE MANUSCRIPTS CLXI

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
56	56	56	56	56	56	57	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	58	36	57		31	23	57
57	57	57	57	57	57	58	59	59	59	59	59	59	59	59	60	82	37	58		32	43	58
58	58	58	58	58	58	59	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60			59		33	44	59
59	59	59	59	59	59	60	61	61	61	61	61	61	61	61	61		71	60		34	45	60
60	60	60	60	60	60	61	62	62	62	62	62	62	62	62	62			61		35	47	61
61	61	61	61	61	61	62	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a			62		36		62
62	62	62	62	62	62	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a	62a			62a		37	48	62a
62a	62a					80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	81							
63	63	63	63	63																		
64	64	64	64	64																		
65	65	65	65	65																		
65a																						
66	66	66	66	66																		
67	67	67	67	67																		
68	68	68	68	68																		
69	69	69	69	69																		
70	70	70	70	70																		
71	71	71	71	71																		
71a	71a																					
72	72	72	72	72																		
73	73	73	73	73																		
73a																						
74	74	74	74	74																		
75	75	75	75	75																		
76	76	76	76	76																		
77	77	77	77	77																		
78	78	78	78	78																		
79	79	79	79	79																		
80	80	80	80	80																		
81	81	81	81	81																		
82	82	82	82	82																		
83	83	83	83	83																		





## LE NOIE

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- 1**    **1**    I' priegho la divina maestade,  
              superna alteza, soma sapienza,  
              lume infinotto, etterna verittade,  
**2**        **4**    Che ne la mia ignorantte inttelegienza

*Heading. A Noye; for other mss., see "Description of Manuscripts" in Introduction.*

**1** *OU omit* — **1** *D omits I'* — **2** *H altezza e eterno lume, J eternal lume e certa sapienza; DEFGILNPQRTV et somma* — **3** *xy infinito; H gloria infinita e soma veritade; I dogni veritade, J perfecta bontade, M etterna trinitade, Q pura veritade*

**2** *HOU omit* — **4** *EMQRV mia ingnoranzia e* —

NOTE. The figures in bold-faced type indicate *terzine*, those in light-faced type verses, according to the text of A. The orthography of A is scrupulously followed, except that in accordance with modern usage words are separated, abbreviations solved, punctuation and accents added. Variants are given in two groups: first, the rejected readings of A in the few cases where the text is emended; second, the significant variants of all the other manuscripts and the incunabulum. Mere differences of spelling are ordinarily disregarded.

Beside the capital letters from A to V indicating the manuscripts, the following sigla are used: *x* means all the manuscripts of Group I except A, i. e., *BCDE*; *y* means all the manuscripts of Group II that contain the verses in question. Thus *xy* indicates agreement of all the other manuscripts against A. In case a few manuscripts of Group II agree with A against the remainder of Group II not otherwise accounted for, they are excepted in parentheses, for instance thus: *y* (-*FM*). All *terzine* and verses are present in every manuscript not specifically mentioned as omitting them; and their readings, when not cited, are assumed to agree substantially with the emended text of A.

- yspiri alquantto del beatto lume  
che fa raluminar la conscienza.
- 3 7 Riprender voglio alchun bruto chostume,  
benche la magior partte me ne tochi  
di que' che fiano in questo mio velume.
- 4 10 None schusando me, dibaso gli occhi,  
schrivendo a ciò che ttale usanza muoia  
in que' ch'a siguitarla sono sciochi.
- 5 13 Chonsiglio alchum che ttenga per sua gioia  
questa scrittura, inprendendo da esa,  
lasando y vizi che mi sono a noia.
- 6 16 A noia m'è, quando si dicie mesa,  
chi ponpegiando e non chon umel core  
oltra misura al prete si rapresa.

2 6 A sapienza (*repeating rhyme-word of verse 2*), BCy conscienza,  
D cognoscenza, E chonosanzia

3 8 A patte

5 J me ispiri alquanto di quel sancto lume, N ispiri assai del  
suo santo lume, L suplisca, Q expiri, R alquanto presti; JLNQ sancto  
— 6 G cheffa aluminar, I chefaza luminar, N che facci alluminare,  
Q el quale alumina vera conscientia

3 U omits — 7 H che mi chonceda chalchun brutto chostume,  
Q reprender voglio alcuno vile costume; N ongni brutto — 8 H  
riprender possa benche a me ne tocchi; GNOPT a me ne tocchi,  
V a me tocchi — 9 D che fieno scritti in questo, E de quello chio  
scrivo, FKS di que sieno, G di quei saranno, JL che scripti sono,  
HIMNOQRTV di que che sono, P di quelli che finno; xy volume,  
FMRT vilume

4 HOU omit — 10 FGIJKPQR abasso, L bassando, N chab-  
basso — 11 N sechondo accio che questo viçio muoia, P dichiaroli  
accio, Q seguendo accio, R ma per farsi che, T diciendo accio;  
J azo che questa soza usanza muoia; BDGKPQSTV questa usanza  
— 12 C chen seguitarla, D in che conseguitarla, F che seguitargli,  
PRT che seguitarla; B son si sciochi

5 U omits — 13 IJKOQ I prego; H Io priecho hongniuno chapra  
del chor gli occhi; D alcun cancelled and ognun substituted;  
BCEKLMPQT ognuom, FGIJNORSV ognun; DI tenghi; V  
tenga in suo memoria; B giogla (:noia), E zolgia (:nogia), I zoia  
(:noia), J zoglia (:noglia) — 14 CK scriptura inprenda da essa,  
H a questa rima aprendendo da essa, JKOQT e prenda ne da essa,  
V e comprenda da essa

6 U omits — 17 C chi pongiando; K ponpegiando va e — 18  
GMOR oltre a misura; E al prevede, G al frate; C sinpressa

- 7 19 A noia m'è chi vegièndo il signore  
non s'inginocchia e non si tra' 'l chapucio,  
facièndo riverènzia al salvatore.
- 8 22 A noia m'è tanto ch'i' me ne chrucio  
chi sta con dona in chiesa a merchatàre,  
che ronper si voria di bucio in bucio.
- 9 25 A noia m'è qualunque al predichare  
va per udir la parola di Dio,  
e poscia dorme quando de' vegliare.
- 10 28 A noia m'è chi per mondam disio  
ne' sachri luoghi le done v'aghegia,  
pognam che 'n ogni partte è atto rio.
- 11 31 A noia m'è chi col fratte motteggia  
quand' è inn atto di confesione,  
nè par che pensi che Dio se n'avegia.
- 12 34 A noia m'è quand'alttr' è inn orazione  
chi mormorando dinanzi o da lato

7 19 *DE* me quando si leva il signore, *I* me levandose el signore, *Q* me mustrandose el signore, *JLOSU* me chi vedendo, *M* me che veggendo — 20 *M* chi non, *U* che non; *E* se lieva il chapuzo, *G* ne chava il chapuccio, *I* e trazasi il capuzo — 21 *E* al nostro salvatore

8 *U* omits — 22 *E* A nogia me chio me ne choro, *FJMQS* A noia tanto me; *DIJPS* coruccio — 23 *E* che stando in giexia a; *FGHILMNOQR* donne; *NOSV* in santo a merchatàre; *FHIOQRV* a motteggiare — 24 *B* e ronper; *Q* perche me pare che tenga del muccio; *DKRT* vorre, *MNV* vorebbe; *E* din oso in oso, *B* di bucio in buzio, *N* abbuccio abbuccio

9 25 *BCy* me chin santo al predicare, *DELO* me chin chiesa al p., *I* me chi va al p., *J* me chi al santo p., *U* me chie in sancti al p. — 26 *S* non per udire — 27 *CI* poi dorme, *F* et poscia cancelled, di poi substituted; *HJOQU* e poi si dorme; *B* vegiare, *CDy* (-*JU*) vegiare, *E* vegiare

10 29 *GO* ne santi luoghi, *JK* ne luoghi santi, *M* ne sagrati luoghi, *Q* nelli lochi sacri; *J* le done moteza, *T* motteggia — 30 *I* benche, *Q* peroche; *BDy* (-*P*) ogni luocho (luogo) e, *FLO* ongni lato e (*R* lato cancelled, luogho substituted); *M* ettanto rio

11 *U* omits — 31 *CV* con frate, *FHJLOQS* col prete, *N* chon prete — 32 *FHKLOPSV* standogli a pie per contargli i pecchati, *IJRT* standogli a piedi per dir suo peccati, *GQ* standogli a pie chontando i pecchati, *MN* stando appie per chontare i pecchati (*rhyming with verses* 40: 42) — 33 *DEGKMNOQRTV* non par, *C* forse non pensa, *I* e che non crede, *N* non pare che creda

12 *y* omit — 34 *x* quando sto in oratione —

muttar li fa la buona openione.

- 13 37 A noia m'è quand' egli è domandato  
del ben per Dio a que' che sono agiatti,  
che 'l pover sia dal più pover chaciato.
- 14 40 A noia m'è che ne' luoghi saghratti  
si chonperi chandele più per risa  
ch'a riverenza de' santti beatti.
- 15 43 A noia moltto m'è per ogni ghuisa  
chi ttratta in chiesa cosa ttenporale,  
dovendo a Dio ttener la mentte fisa.
- 16 46 A noia m'è chi è tanto bestiale  
chi va ghignando achonpagnando mortto,  
chome non si senttise esser morttale.
- 17 49 A noia m'è chi de ragione o ttortto

16 47 A mortti, *BDGHIR* il morto, *CJKLPSV* morto, *F* il morte, *EQ* el morto, *M* imorti, *N* e morti, *O* un morto (*rhyming with verses 49:51*)

36 *x* mutar mi fa; *BCE* buona intenzione

13 *RSTUV* omit, *FGHIJKLMNOPQ* put after 90, *O* puts after 69 — 37 *GM* che sendo dimandato, *I* che se sia domandato — 38 *C* del ben di dio a que canno il podere (*C* inserts after 13 two *terzine*, 13a, 13b), *F* limosina per dio che quando chiede (*rhyming with verses 277: 279*), *G* limosina per dio a piu maniere (*rhyming with terz. 104a*), *HIJKLMNOPQ* limosina per dio a piu persone — 39 *D* dal piu ricco scacciato, *JL* da piu gente schazato; *GIMOP* chel men possente al povero dia commiato

14 *NU* omit — 40 *BHIKOQSTV* me chi; *C* Annoia me e vil persona tengno (*rhyming with terz. 13b*) — 41 *CIK* conpera; *F* si comprin le cande, *GV* si conprino cande, *H* accendele chandele, *T* pongha chandele piu per motteggiare (*rhyming with terz. 43*) — 42 *C* del beato rengno

15 *y* (-*F*) omit, but use part of verse 43 with 47, 48 to form *terz.* 16 — 43 *C* Annoia ancora me; *D* soprogni guisa — 45 *E* dovendo a dio senpre tegnir la mente afisa

16 *TU* omit — 46 *y* (-*F*) A noia me anchor per ogni ghiusa (*verse 43 substituted for 46*) — 47 *CDF* che; *FHIKNOV* va ridendo, *E* che va zigando, *L* chi va spapiando, *Q* chi va scrignando; *IN* acconpangiare — 48 *BE* chome se non sentise, *C* come se non pensasse, *F* chome che pensa non esser mortale, *GHIKLNPRSV* chome huon che di morir mai non savisa, *JMQ* chome huomo che di morte non savisa

17 *TU* omit — 49 *FI* a ragione, *G* per ragione, *JKV* a dritto o a torto, *N* a dritti o attorti, *PQ* da ragione al torto —



becha quisttion ch'a lui non aparttegna,  
chome di moltti già mi sono achorto.

18 52 A noia m'è l'usanza ch'ogi regna,  
ch'un ginttil uomo over pien di verttutte  
se mal vestitto il va, ciaschuno il sdegna.

19 55 A noia m'è ch'el si renda salutte  
a mercienaiò che sia ben adobatto,  
che finalmente son tutte perdute.

20 58 A noia m'è vedere un schostumatto  
di reprendre altrui del falo ch'eli  
è più che quel cotale invilupatto.

21 61 A noia m'è veder quando noveli  
alchun per dare a' chonpangni diletto,  
ch'altri da chantto mormori e favelli.

18 54 A il sedegna

21 61 ADV quandun noveli, *BCELMPS* quando novelli, *G*  
quando favelli, *FHIJKNOR* quando alcun

50 *E* zercha, *FHIJNORV* piglia, *G* recha, *L* arechi, *K* prenda  
*Q* venga, *P* duna quisttion; *CDEy* (-*GLOR*) sappartegna — 51 *B*  
como; *O* di moltri assai mi sono; *N* acchorti

18 *T* omit — 52 *J* che anchor regna — 53 *E* che artixan o zen-  
tilomo, *I* che uno el quale in se habi virtude, *O* che un gentile  
uomo che sia pieno di vertue, *Q* che omne gintile homo pino donne  
vertute, *U* cognio homo che e pien di vertu — 54 *N* se mal vestito  
ognuno lo schifa e sdengnia, *R* se sara mal; *B* ognomo, *DEGORSU*  
ognuno lo sdegna, *MP* ciaschuno lo disdegna

19 *TU* omit — 55 *xy* (-*J*) me che; *KMOS* rende salute, *Q* chi  
magiure salute, *V* a chi si rende salute — 56 *D* ad uno mercennaio,  
*E* al merzenagio perche sia ben vestito, *NO* a un villano, *Q* fa a  
mercenario che troppo adobato — 57 *B* perche me paion pezo cha  
perdute, *C* chelle piu volte son tutte, *D* che peggio elle mi paion  
che, *R* perche finalmente son

20 *TU* omit — 58 *BCGOSV* veder un chostumato, *M* veder non  
chostumato, *N* ciaschuno ischostumato, *P* vedere inchostumato,  
*Q* alcuno excostumato, *R* chum mal costumato — 59 *BI* in ripren-  
dere, *F* nel riprendere, *LMO* omit di, *GHJKNQSV* nello spre-  
giare altrui, *R* chegli spregi altrui — 60 *D* che piu che quel tale,  
*y* (-*ILR*) viepiu che, *O* par che, *V* via piu di; *Q* che altri incolpato,  
*P* avilupato, *R* avilupato

21 *TU* omit — 61 *FHIJKNOR* me che quando alcun, *P* me  
udir, *Q* me alcun che; *FGO* favelli (*repeated in 63*) — 62 *FHIJKN-*  
*OQ* per voler dare, *R* per dare a compagni suoi, *MP* al chonpangno;  
*V* alchun diletto — 63 *GLMORS* che un da canto, *EFHJK* algn

- 22 64 A noia m'è chiunque ronpe il detto  
ad alchun, sia chi vuol, quando ragiona,  
però ch'al mio parere è ghran difetto.
- 23 67 A noia m'è ciascheduna persona  
ch'inver l'amicho per pichola ofesa  
inghrosa sì che la amistà abandona.
- 24 70 A noia m'è chiunque fa chonttesa  
d'alchuna chosa che sia da nientte,  
chè già se n'è dimoltta brigha aciesa.
- 25 73 A noia m'è ciaschun simelementte  
chi fuor d'ogni misura parla ttanto  
ch'el fa inmalenchonir chi gli è presente.
- 26 76 A noia m'è chiunque si da vantto  
d'aver fatt'egli quel ch'un alttro à fatto,  
ch'el saria ben che li tornase in pianto.

26 78 A in dano, *xy* in pianto

canto, *N* chalchuno degli altri, *Q* alcun dalato mormori, *V* e uno da canto; *G* favelli *written and cancelled*, novelli *substituted*

22 *T omits* — 64 *xy* me ciaschun che ronpe, *H* me chi ronpe daltri, *I* me ancor chi ronpe, *Q* me alchun che, *R* me qualunque — 65 *xy* dalchun, *HJN omit* ad alchun, *L* de alcuna persona che, *O* dalchuno u homo quando ragiona; *F* sie chi si vuole quando; *HN* sie chissi vuole quando alchun ragiona — 66 *G* chal mio parere egle un gran difetto, *N* chal mio parere elloro e ghran difetto

23 *T omits* — 67 *P* Annoia me quando alchun si muova; *H* me che, *QU* me per; *CDHKLMQU* ciascuna — 68 *D* al suo compagno per, *DHLO omit* ch'; *N* per picchole chose — 69 *B* ingrosi, *I* isdegna; *G* chamista nabandona

24 *TU omit* — 70 *Dy* me ciascun che, *G* me anchor che, *N* me cholui che, *R* me chiunque, *S* me qualunque; *N* chontese — 71 *I* per una cosa, *N* di quelle chose chesson — 72 *FHJKO* che se ne gia, *NQ* son gia dimolte brighe accese; *F* brigha presa

25 *T omits* — 73 *y* (-*LMRSV*) me ancor similmente — 74 *y* chi smisuratamente parla; *V* parla troppo; — 75 *D repeats verse* 72 in place of 75; *F* chi va presente, *Q* chi fa presente, *V* chi ve presente

26 *MT omit* — 76 *DEy* ciaschun che, *GRS* qualunque — 77 (*V omits verses* 77, 78, 79 and combines 76, 80, 81 to form 26) — *IQ* fato esso, *KO omit* egli; *JKL* quello che non ha fatto, *NOQSU omit* un, *O* a gia fatto, *S* abbia fatto — 78 *BCS* e saria, *DN* che li sarebben, *E* che sarebe ben, *G* che ben saria, *K* ragion siria, *LR* che seria merce, *O* che starebe bene

- 27 79 A noia m'è chiunque è ttanto matto  
che per esere tenuto più ghagliardo  
inchonttro a Dio sparla tratto tratto.
- 28 82 A noia moltto m'è chi è bugiardo,  
pognam che n'è vendetta quando giura,  
chè chi 'l chonoscie gli chrede più tardo.
- 29 85 A noia m'è chiunque oltra misura  
vestitto va più ch'el non à 'l podere,  
vegiendo il padre gnudo, e non à chura.
- 30 88 A noia m'è chiunque sta a vedere  
o ascholttar chi vuol parlar di quetto,  
volendo udirlo contra 'l suo volere.
- 31 91 A noia m'è chi inn abitto discreto  
parole ascoltta e poscia le redicie

29 87 A e none chura, M e non chura, xy e non a chura

27 *T omits* — 79 (*V omits*); *D* chi e tanto, *G* qualunque, *JLMP* ciaschun che, *FHKNOQU* chi e si folle e matto, *I* chi e si stolto e mato, *R* chi e cotanto matto — 81 *BE* chontral signor, *K* inverso dio, *V* verso di dio; *CHJL* parla; *BDEFI* a ogni trato, *G* tanto ratto, *J* spesso tratto, *L* si ritrato, *O* al primo tratto, *V* tanto o quanto

28 *T omits* — 82 *DFGIJKLNOQU* omit moltto, *H* A noia tanto me; *F* me ancor chi, *G* me chi e molto, *IJKLO* me ciaschun che, *NU* me chi e tantto, *Q* me tancto chi — 83 *FJLN* ben che vendetta ne sia, *G* posto che, *K* vero e che, *M* pogniando che, *S* pero che

29 *T omits* — 85 *D* me ciaschun fuor di misura, *E* me chi e contra, *M* me chi oltre, *Q* ciaschun senza, *G* qualunque, *FHIJKLNOU* ciaschun c'oltra, *V* chiuncollaltro — 86 *xy* che non a, *J* che non da, *L* chelsuo — 87 *O* chavendo il padre; *S* padre che di lui non; *J* e desso non

30 88 *E* me chi sta, *DGS* qualunque sta, *JKL* ciaschun che sta, *FHINOQU* ciaschun che vuol vedere; *T* ista a udire — 89 *DG* o ascoltare parole di cheto, *Q* over ascolta chi parla de queto, *M* chi parla di segreto, *R* chi parla di cheto; *EHIKOT* parlar sagreto, *F* parlar dicreto — 90 *BDEFGHLNOQTU* volendo udire, *I* senza chiamare o senza suo volere; *BDEG* contra l'altrui volere, *P* chontra lor volere, *Q* senza suo volere

31 91 *LT* atto discreto, *BCEGU* segreto — 92 *FHIU* ascolta le parole, *N* ti sieno dette parole e ttale dice; *CDFJKMQST* e poi le ridice, *HIOU* e poi le dice —

- quando son portte per amor saghretto.
- 32 94 A noia m'è chi inn istatto felicie  
disdegna ttal che di verttù l'avanza,  
chi ne cierchase bene ogni radicie.
- 33 97 A noia m'è chi à tanta burbanza  
che quando è saluttatto non risponde,  
per ch'el si tturba chi muove la danza.
- 34 100 A noia m'è chi non avendo donde  
va pigholando perch' alttri li rechi,  
e ttogli a ttal che più di lui confonde.
- 35 103 A noia m'è chi è di ttechomechi,  
ch'a me di tte e a tte di me mal porgie,  
ond' el mi par che l'uno e l'altro aciechi.
- 36 106 A noia m'è chi una dona schorgie  
e va la motteggiando per la via

31 93 A saghrette

93 *FHIJKOQ* le qua (quali), *N* channessun porti peranimo saghreto; *Q* poste per acto secreto; *G* per homo discreto

32 94 *D* chin tasto, *S* chi per stato — 95 *D* discaccia, *J* desprezia talhon, *N* e indengnia tale, *V* isdegna; *M* altrui che; *H* in verita lavanza — 96 *H* cercha, *K* conosce, *Q* troncasce

33 97 *J* arroganza, *OU* baldanza, *Q* bonaza, *S* vaganza — 98 *D* quando gli e salutato, *R* chesendo salutato — 99 *CRST* perche si turba, *BDEFGHIJKLPQU* onde si turba, *M* sicche si turbi, *N* sicche si turba, *V* perche si turbi; *R* chiamandolo a danza

34 *U omits* — 100 *D* none avesse donde, *M* domandando donde, *O* chi avendo donde, *V* chi non a donde — 101 *B* va pilgliolando, *E* va pizorando, *I* va dimandando, *JS* va piolando, *O* vivere e priegha che altrui gli arechi, *R* et va togliendo per donare altrui; *N* gli arrechi — 102 *D* e torce, *P* togliendo; *N* ettoglie attale cheppi chesse chonfonde, *Q* et tolle a tale che a piu che lui chonfonde

35 *U omits* — 103 *BD* chi di techomechi, *H* chi e de lechimechi, *IKNOQ* di questi techimechi, *L* cotesti teghi e megghi; *R* Adnoia mi sono questi techomechi — 104 *AFKO* a me di tte e a tte di me, *BDGHJMNIRST* a te di me a me di te, *CILPQV* a te di me a eme di te, *E* a te di me a te di te; *N* mal pensa *rhyming with* milensa in 130 — 105 *BE* unde mi pare, *C* perche mi pare, *DFHINOSV* onde convien, *GJKMPQT* sicche chonviene, *L* tal che convien, *R* perche convien; *M* olluno ollaltro acciechi

36 *MN omit* — 107 *F* e vada, *O* andarlla per la via motteggiando —



sì ch'el fa mal pensar chi se n'acorgie.

- 37 109 A noia m'è chi ode vilania  
dir d'alchuna persona, e po' raporta  
cottanto e più, simenando resia.
- 38 112 A noia m'è chi d'una cosa tortta  
per ben piacere a chi l'à fatta pregia,  
e nel siguir ttal operar confortta.
- 39 115 A noia m'è chi dinanzi mi fregia  
di tal verttude che nientte mi tocha,  
e poi di dietro con gli alttri mi spregia.
- 40 118 A noia m'è parlar di meza bocha,  
una mostrando ne le sue parole,  
un'alttra ad operar nel chore achocha.
- 41 121 A noia tantto m'è che me ne dole  
chi è invittato a la taverna a bere,

39 115 ADEHOPR pregia, L apregia, BCFGIKMSTUV fregia, J frexia; in 113 all mss. have pregia, and fregia is certainly correct here. In A porgia written and cancelled, pregia written above

108 BCD si che fa, E che fa, y si che ne fa mal dire a chi sacorgie, I si che mal fa pensare a chi sacorze

37 LN omit — 109 V chi ode per la via — 110 D o ira dalcuna, M dire alchuna; I dalcuno homo — 111 F trattando o piu, MP sei tanti oppiu, Q cantando vai pur; R piu daltretanto semina, T duo tanti o piu, U contando e piu; I seminar deresia; BJ rixia, E rexia, KU heresia

38 NU omit — 113 FHIJKLOQ per compiacere; BCEGT quel che la fata, R quel che mal fatto, V a cholui che la fatta; LP fatto, K ditta; T priegha — 114 DEy (-S) opera; L e a seguitar tale opera, M e nel perseguitar finel chonforta, R e nel malfare il conducie e c., P poi dietro lui troppo peggio rapporta, T e nel parlar taluon cotal c., V talor lo conforta.

39 NQ omit — 116 xy virtù che niente — 117 B e chon altra dietro mi dispresia, CEF GHIMP e con altrui di dietro mi dispregia, D et poi con altri di drieto mi spregia, R tra gli altri, T e nel parlar con altrui

40 NQU omit — 118 D il parlar — 119 BE che uno mostra, DO una mi mostra — 120 D li tocca, I un'altra adoperando al cuor gil coccha, J un'altra a raxonar, T luna aoperando il chuore, V altro operando nel suo chuore incoccha

41 NQU omit — 121 DGHJKLMORT Anioia me tanto — 122 ET invitato a mangiare o a bere, H invitato da caschuno a bere, K invitato dal compagno a bere —

- se poi con secho più menar ne vole.
- 42 124 A noia anchora m'è diettro tenere  
ad un che vada a bere od a mangiare  
senza invittatta, sol di suo volere.
- 43 127 A noia m'è ch'a ciena o a disinare  
senza chiarir le man si vada a mensa,  
o di fuor mangi senz'alchun lavare.
- 44 130 A noia m'è per persona melensa  
chi non se forbe la bocha e la mano,  
volendo bere, ma solo a mangiar pensa.
- 45 133 A noia m'è per chostume vilano  
che 'l morsichiatto bochon chole dita  
ne la schodela torni a mano a mano.
- 46 136 A noia m'è per persona landitta  
che giugnendo a la mensa non salutta;

45 133 A persona *written and cancelled*, chostume *written above*

123 *xGIJKMST* se piu chon secho poi menar, *F* se piu menar  
con secho, *H* se molti poi menare secho, *O* se piu secho poi

42 *LN omit* — 124 *DE* Annoia me chi drieto vuol tenere, *FHIKQ*  
Anoia me ciaschun drieto tenere, *J* A noglia me alcun drieto tenere,  
*O* Anoia me chi dietro tenere, *U* Annoia me ciascun vole gire —  
125 *CFGJKQSUV* ad uom che; *J* a zena o a desenare, *O* chi  
va a bere o a mangiare, *T* a mangiare o a bere — 126 *FIJOQU* o  
sanza suo volere, *H* chontro al suo volere; *K* senzaltro invito, *IT*  
sanza invitarlo, *M* senza invitallo, *V* senza invito

43 *N omits* — 127 *J* a zena o a manziare — 128 *DHKLMOQRS*  
sanza lavare; *IO* si pone a mensa, *QR* va a mensa — 129 *BCDF-*  
*KQRSV* alchun senza lavare, *EGMT* anchor senza lavare, *H*  
chosa da schifare, *J* senza man lavare, *L* senza man schiarare, *P*  
chi non si vuol lavare, *U* altri senza lavare

44 *O omits* — 130 *D* me persona misleansa, *F* me per persona  
silenza, *HJ* persona si milensa, *RSV* la persona milensa — 131  
*DEIJKLRSV* che non si forbe, *HU* se non; *H* si netta; *B* o le  
mani, *CJV* o lla mano, *D* dela mano — 132 *C* voler bere; *DFIJLM*  
ma pure, *GHRSTV* e solo, *KNU* e pur

45 *O omits* — 133 *H* un chostume, *JK* quel chostume, *N* chec-  
chostumo; *B* villani — 134 *B* che morsigato bochom, *JMQU* che  
morsecchiato il bocchon, *N* chi el masticato bocchone; *Q* con li  
denti — 135 *L* sul taiera lo torna; *R* metta colla mano

46 *OSU omit* — 136 *CDEFHJKLPQRV omit* per; *BCDEFJKL-*  
*PTV* persona dilandita, *G* sgradita, *H* si ingradita, *I* gradita, *M*  
sbandita, *N* laldita, *Q* tancto ardita, *R* isciemunita, *Poesie di A. P.*  
di bandita (*see Glossary*) — 137 *DKLQ* quando giunge, *JNPR* che  
quando giugnie, *H* che que cha mensa truova non saluta —

se 'l fa, chi non risponde e no lo 'nvitta.

47 139 A noia m'è chi a ttavola sputta  
di quel che mangia, e dicie che li spiaccia,  
se la persona è uditta o vedutta.

48 142 A noia m'è chi manichando schiaccia  
nuciole od alttro a ttavola co' dentti,  
però ch'è rischio e fa brutta la faccia.

49 145 A noia m'è, benche moltti contenti,  
chi sucia l'oso e più volte il ripichia  
in sul taglieri, ove più n'à presentti.

50 148 A noia m'è chi le ghanbe inchrocichia,  
istando a mensa, o ttanto le disttende  
che gli suo pie sovra gli alttrui moncichia.

51 151 A noia m'è quando il bochon si prende  
chi con la bocha va in su la scodela,

51 152 A *first written* chi col bochon va in sula scodela, *then cancelled and rewritten* — 153 A scienda

138 *D* e se ve risponde nollo invita, *H* ebben lonvita, *I* non sie chi risponde et nollo invita, *JL* o sia che non risponde, *N* esse non e invitato lui sinvita, *P* ben fa chi non risponde

47 *S omits* — 139 *M* chi de uoto si muta, *O* chi mangiando sputa, *T* chi manichando isputa — 140 *FP* mangia o dica, *IM* mangia e dica, *L* mangia o dice, *HJKNOU* mangia e mostra, *Q* mangia e mostra che li piaccia — 141 *EIM* udita e veduta, *H* sentita et veduta, *JKNOQ* o aveduta, *R* il vede o e aveduta

48 *BS omit* — 142 *D* me ancora chie schiaccia, *HILNOQUV* me chi mangiando schiaccia, *R* me chi a tavola schiaccia — 143 *D* nocciole o noce; *Q* con denti spernichia (*rhyme with* 148, 150); *LQ omit* attavola — 144 *I* perche vitio, *U* peroche mal costume e embracta la faccia; *J* rischo a far brutar; *DGMNORV* fa turbar, *F* fa turba. *T* fa dubbiar

49 *QS omit* — 145 *xy* (-*LTU*) benche a molti, *V* benche altrui; *O* si chontenti — 146 *O* suchia; *E* e poi piu; *D* il ripiglia, *E* lo ripiega — 147 *B* dove, *C* ove na piu, *DJ* dove molti, *GIU* dove piu son; *K* ove son molte genti, *M* dove ne tanti presenti, *R* dove ne piu presenti

50 *S omits* — 148 *U* chi le cosse; *E* ingroza, *L* crosichia — 149 *FHJKNOQU* sedendo, *I* standosi, *L* essendo; *GIJKLOPQUV* e tanto le, *N* eppoi le; *O* si distende — 150 *L* che con suoi piedi tuti gli altri lichia, *N* si chessoprallaltre ammoncicchia: *DGM* piedi *xy* (-*H*) altri; *BC* monzichia, *D* monsichia, *E* mentiga, *FHRTV* amonzichia, *GKOU* amonticchia, *I* incavichia, *J* montechia, *M* chogli altri samischia, *P* amonsicchia, *Q* apicha

51 *S omits* — 152 *H* va sopra a schodella — 153 *M* chillo char-

- o chi 'l charicha sì che 'l mezo sciende.
- 52 154 A noia m'è chi mangiando favela,  
e chi raccontta cosa che renchrescha  
agli udittor, cioè brutta novela.
- 53 157 A noia m'è quando per più si pescha  
inn iscodela, o d'alttro ch'è dintorno  
chon li chuchiai vi si manucha in trescha.
- 54 160 A noia tanto m'è ch' i' me ne schorno  
che 'nanzi a forestier la sua famiglia  
batte o minacia di notte o di giorno.
- 55 163 A noia m'è chi col servo bisbiglia,  
istando a mensa ; che s' i' ben comprendo,  
provede mal chi da sezo consiglia.
- 56 166 A noia m'è chi favela servendo,  
se no lo inducie licitta chagione;  
e s'al chiamar non risponde corendo.
- 57 169 A noia m'è chi sofia nel bochone,  
posendo ad agio lasarlo fredare,

chassi che mezzo il perde, *NO* ettanto il charcha chemmeçço dis-  
cende, *P* e charchal tanto chel mezzo si li fende, *R* echilla riglia  
sicchel mezzo sciende, *V* occhi si charicha si cal mezzo sciende

52 *S* omits — 154 *T* attavola — 155 *Q* over ragiona cosa —  
156 *x* sopra il mangiar, *y* a mangiatori; *H* addir brutta, *Q* per  
bructa

53 *KS* omit — 157 *R* per molti si pescha — 158 *R* nel chatinello ;  
*BF* o in altro dintorno, *CDE* o in altro datorno, *y*(-*F*) alchuna  
inbandigione, *NO* o in alchuna in., *IL* dalcuna in., *Q* alcuna man-  
giatione (*to rhyme with* 169:171) — 159 *xy* (-*FJQ*) che con chuchiaio,  
*M* se chon chucchia ; *BCGH* manuchi, *DEILPQTUV* mangi, *FOR*  
mangia, *J* si ve manduchi, *M* non si manucha, *N* occhommano;  
*H* a trescha, *R* e trescha

54 *y* (-*F*) omit — 160 *D* Annoia me tanto che me — 161 *xF*  
chinanzi; *B* al forestiero, *C* a forestiero, *DEF* a forestieri — 162 *E* o  
di note o di zorno lasismilgia (*incorrectly rhyming with* 161:163:165  
*instead of* 158:160)

55 *y* (-*F*) omit — 164 *C* alla mensa ; *F* che chese ben

56 *y* (-*F*) omit — 168 *D* e sal chiamare non rispondo (*omitting*  
corendo)

57 *S* omits — 169 *E* sofia innel balchone — 170 *DKMV* avendo  
lagio di poterlo, *E* avendo tenpo a poterlo, *G* avendo lagio a lassarlo,  
*I* quandesso ha tempo poterlo, *L* possendo lassarlo rifredare,  
*N* potendo, *O* quando egla agio di poterlo, *T* quando a agio di  
poterlo; *C* poterlo fredare, *Q* poserlo infreddare, *R* poter freddare,



però ch'el mi par atto di ghiottone.

- 58 172 A noia m'è chi non chura pasare  
da latto del compagno sul tagliere  
quando vede bochon che buon li pare.
- 59 175 A noia m'è quel che senza mestiere  
s'apogia a mensa e co l'un bracio strigne,  
co l'altro mangia chome paltoniere.
- 60 178 A noia m'è chi mangiando si scingne,  
e più che non richiede l'apettitto  
vivanda in corpo oltre misura pingne.
- 61 181 A noia m'è chi è sì mal nodritto  
ch'a ttavola usi di bersi la broda,  
sì chome porcho di porcile uscito.
- 62 184 A noia m'è, chi 'l vuole udir si l'oda,

57 171 A gliottone

60 180 A chacia *cancelled and pingne written above*

*U* lassarlo infredare — 171 *xy* pero che mi par, *H* pero che atto tutto, *JL* pero che drito atto, *K* pero che atto propio, *N* chebben simmi par atto, *O* che bene mi pare atto, *Q* perche me sembia acto, *U* pero che simile acto e da giottone

58 *S omits* — 172 *J* chi chura de passare, *N* chi usa di passare, *P* chi non churi passare — 173 *Q* dal canto del compagno, *U* nellato dellato del compagno; *xy* (-*Q*) in sul tagliere — 174 *DHJKQRUV* vede il boccon, *FNOPT* vede un boccon

59 *OPS omit* — 175 *EGJK* mestieri, *I* mestiero, *M* me chessanza mestiere, *N* me perchessanza mestiere, *Q* me quale hò senza mestiere, *U* me chi senza ministieri — 176 *I* saponga a mensa et col braza si regge, *L* se appogia a mensa col bracio se infinge, *R* apoggia a mensa il gomito ol braccio — 177 *B* paltronere, *EGU* poltronieri, *HQ* poltroniere, *ILT* poltroniero, *M* poltoniere

60 *EPS omit* — 178 *C* manicando, *R* chi a mensa si scignie; *L* se decinge, *Q* sostenge — 179 *D* nolli richiede lappetito, *F* et seguitando lo rigardo apetito, *H* lappipitito, *I* gli porta lapetito, *J* non rechiede vivanda lapetito; *T* e perche, *U* o piu che — 180 *D* altra misura, *xy* oltra; *KQ* al corpo; *O* vivanda in corpo o altra misura spinge, *U* vivanda al corpo oltra misura prende, *V* mandare in corpo

61 *EPQS omit* — 181 *O* si male anodrito — 182 *B* cha tavolla uxa di versi la broda, *D* usanza a mensa di bersi la broda, *CU* usa, *FLO* che usa a mensa, *IKN* che usi a mensa, *J* che uxa a tola beversi, *R* che usa a bere a tavola — 183 *B* di porcille usito, *CDFHKO* del porcile

62 *EPQS omit* — 184 *G* e chi a udir; *CFGHIJKNouv* si moda.

- chi mangia aghrume e poi tra le persone  
a ragionar senza righuardo aproda.
- 63 187 A noia m'è chi 'n su la mensa pone  
la ttovaglia a rivescio, e più di nove  
s'ela si mena serve del bastone.
- 64 190 A noia m'è chi da mensa si move  
prima che gli altri, se bisogno grande  
no lo strignese pur d'esser altrove.
- 65 193 A noia m'è che tal uso si spande,  
espizialmentte ne' convitti dichò,  
che gientte a mensa aspetti le vivande.
- 66 196 A noia m'è chi mangia co l'amicho  
se 'n chasa sua solicitta la moglie  
di bere o di mangiar valer d'un ficho.
- 67 199 A noia m'è chi subito non toglie  
il vin di mano a cholui che gl'il mescie,  
"to' ttu" diciendo, e verun no lo scioglie.

67 201 *ABJ* soglie, *CDGIKMNV* scioglie, *FHOT* scogle, *L* disoglie

185 *F* agrumi e poi con altri fore, *GIJKLMRTUV* agrume in casa e poi di fore, *H* quei che mangia agli e poi va di fora, *N* in chasa effore, *O* chi mangia agli o agrumi — 186 *BD* senza righuardo a ragionare saproda, *C* a ragionar con quellalito aproda, *GHIJLMORUV* chon altri a ragionar subito aproda, *K* a favelar, *N* subito arragionare approda, *T* a ragionare con altrui subito aproda — 62a follows in *y* (*-PQSU*), beginning: *F* A noia me chi pestando il sapore, *G* A noia me quando pesti il sapore, etc. (see "Additions to the text", p. 24)

63 *Ey* omit — 188 *B* la tovalgia a riverso e poi dimone; *CD* a rovescio; *Poesie* di A. P. più di dove — 189 *B* sela e femina serve

64 *Ey* omit — 190 *D* di mensa — 191 *BC* sel bixongno

65 *Ey* omit — 193 *B* chin toluiso si spande, *D* chi tale uso si spende — 194 *x* specialmente — 195 *B* aspeti, *C* aspettin, *D* spetti

66 *EPQRS* omit — 196 *IK* me mangiando con — 197 *xy* (*-F*) in chasa sua, *IK* chen chasa sua, *V* acchasa sua; *BDT* sollicitare, *CIK-MN* solleciti — 198 *G* di mangiare o di bere, *KN* del bere o del mangiare; *C* voler, *JLU* valor, *INV* che vaglia un ficho, *O* o di valere un ficho

67 *EPQRSU* omit — 199 *H* chi attempo non toglie — 200 *D* in mano a colui che glie mescie, *L* di mano a colui; *BH* a quello che, *FOV* a colui che lo mescie, *I* al mescitor che mesce — 201 *BIMV* dicendo totu, *N* dicendo totu totu, *O* tuti totu, *F* totu totu dicendo; *x* laltro, *F* gnun, *G* verun, *HJMNT* niun, *IO* nessun, *K* ne lun ne laltro, *V* nollo

- 68 202 A noia tantto m'è che me ne 'nchrescie  
 il dir : "va innanzi", e ciaschun sta intento,  
 e chosì alchun non entra over non escie.
- 69 205 A noia m'è chi va per via a stentto,  
 risttando con costui e con cholui,  
 e del chonpangno non à pensamento.
- 70 208 A noia m'è chionque è chon altrui  
 e partisse da lui senza chomiatto,  
 chome lasciato già in ttal modo fui.
- 71 211 A noia m'è qualunque è aspettatto  
 se del conpangno non chura che spasima,  
 facendo del niente lungho piatto.

68 203 A e ciaschedun sta adietro ; *Cy* ciaschun, *BDO* ongnuno,  
*J* e state, *M* chatuno ; *BCKL* intento, *D* tanto, *y* attento

68 *EPQRSU* omit — 202 *DGIJKLNTV* Annoia me tanto,  
*O* Anoia me cascuno di que che mesce; *BDFGMT* che mi rincrescie,  
*C* che menrescie — 203 *G* a dir, *HIN* di dir, *J* chi dice; *ILT* va  
 inanzi tu; *O* chi gli va inanzi chongnuno sta atento — 204 *xGM*  
 sicche alchun, *FHO* sicche veruno, *IJT* sicche gniun, *KN* sicche nes-  
 suno, *V* sicche di lor nessuno entra ne escie; *JMNO* non entra e  
 non escie

69 *EPQRS* omit — 205 *H* per via si lento, *JNTV* per la via, *K*  
 per andamento, — 206 *J* se arrestando, *N* essirrista: *BHI* o con  
 colui, *FGKNU* or con costui or con colui, *M* con cholui e chon  
 chostui — 207 *BCMTV* e de conpangni; *GHN* non fa pensamento,  
*O* niente gli ricresce

70 *EOPQRSTU* omit — 208 *BM* chiunche, *D* chi va con altrui,  
*FHKN* quanduno e con altrui, *GL* qualunque, *IJ* quando huomo  
 e con altrui, *V* chi fosse chon altrui — 209 *B* e partisi, *CDGMV* e  
 partesi, *FK* si partira, *H* partendosi, *N* ede si parta — 210 *DFIJKLN*  
 come in tal modo già lasciato fui, *HM* tal volta, *V* come lasciato  
 in cotal modo fui (*V ends here*).

71 *ENOPRSTUV* omit — 211 *D* me molto chi e; *B* qualunque,  
*CM* chiunche, *I* ciascun, *J* quando homo, *K* quanduno; *FHJKQ* e  
 acompagnato — 212 *DFHJK* e del compagno, *G* el suo conpangno  
 di dolore spasma, *I* da suo compagno che di fredo spasma, *M* che  
 suoi chonpangni di dolore spasima, *C* spasma; *K* e del compagno,  
 suo non a cura (*rhyming with terz. 71a*) — 213 *D* facendo del monte,  
*F* facendo di niente un lungho piato, *GIM* ed el fa di niente un  
 lungho piato, *L* quando fidelmente la acompagnato — *In Q this*  
*terz. reads as follows, not rhyming with 38 which precedes or 72 which*  
*follows:*

Anoia me chi con doi e acompagnato  
 con luno gridando non cura  
 laltro del niente far gram piato

- 72 214 A noia m'è chi l'alttrui chose biasima,  
e chi 'n presenza alttrui loda le sue  
che son men degne, che di tal mostra l'asina.
- 73 217 A noia m'è quando di ttre è' due  
si vano ragionando a la cielatta,  
che men churan del tterzo che d'un bue.
- 74 220 A noia m'è che messer di brighatta  
faccia condanagion tanto vilane  
ch'alchun si schochi, ond' ela sia turbata.
- 75 223 A noia m'è chi chon l'afettapane

74 222 A ondela sua turbata, *BCFGHKL MNQT* ondella sia turbata, *cf. DIJU*

72 *EOPRSTV omit* — 214 *BJ* laltre chose, *M* laltroi chosa, *Q* chi daltrui biasima; *GIJKLU* biasma — 215 *B* e in presenza altri, *CDL* en presenza daltrui, *FHIJN* et in presenza di se, *G* e di presente lui, *K* e nel presente desso, *M* elle suo loda chome dengne sono (*no rhyme*), *U* et se medisimo si loda con sue; *D* lodi le sue — 216 *BF* che di tal mostra asima, *C* che di tal moltrasina, *D* che quelle chellazima (*Poesie di A. P.* che quelle per cui asima), *G* dichotal mostrasma, *H* che quelle che biasima, *IJKU* che una fantasma, *NQ* che una fantasima, *L* dicotal mostraxema; *M* chome se fosse mostrato una sima

73 *EOPRSV omit* — 217 *xy* me che di tre insieme i due, *D* chi dentre insieme due — 218 *BFGJKMNT* si vadan ragionando, *CHI* si vadin ragionando, *D* insieme ragionando, *L* vada ragionando, *Q* senando ragionando; *N* per la viasima (*rhyming with verses* 214:216) — 219 *L omits*; *C* con men cura, *DJQ* e curan meno, *FIK* e curin men, *GH* del terzo men churando; *N* eddel chonpangnio churano men chun bue, *T* e men ghuardando il terzo che dun bue, *U* e cura men dellaltro che dun boue

74 *EOPRSV omit* — 220 *B* che misere, *HJM* chel messere, *I* che esser, *K* con essere, *LQU* che signor di brigata, *N* chessendo — 221 *IN* si facciano chondannagioni, *Q* facendo condanpnagione tancta villana; *BC* tropo vilane, *D* troppe villane — 222 *BC* e qual si scocha, *D* salcun si cruccia la festa e turbata, *F* chalcun sadiri, *G* chalcun si scherni. *I* chalcun si crucci e lascila turbata, *J* chalcun se turbi e tutta sia turbata, *K* chalcun si scorni, *LMT* che alcun si crucci, *N* chessia chiagone, *Q* che alcun se turba, *U* che alcun si conturbi e sia sturbata

75 *EORSV omit* — 223 *D* chi col coltello affetta pane, *J cum* coltel da pane, *M* chi choltello affettapane, *Q* chi celle facto pano —



bruttura taglia, cielatto o palese,  
po' l'usa a mensa da sera e di mane.

- 76 226 A noia m'è invitar come cortese,  
e poi lasar paghare a quel cottale,  
però che questa è invittata prattese.
- 77 229 A noia m'è chom uon che pocho vale  
chi 'nvitta altrui, e po' ch'egli à aciettato  
ed e' lo svitta, onde que' l'à per male.
- 78 232 A noia anchora m'è chi è 'nvitato  
e poi non va tenuto ch'à lo 'nvito,  
se licitta chagion no l'à schusato.
- 79 235 A noia m'è sì chome inscimenito  
chi 'nvitta alchuno e quel cotale acieta,  
se senza ghran chagion po' vien falito.
- 80 238 A noia m'è chiunque si diletta  
ch'a ciela tropo la ttrecha ghuadagni

80 239 A lettreacha

224 *B* toglia celato, *C* bruttata toglia palato o polese, *G* tagli o segreto o palese, *HIJKU* tagli bruttura, *N* si ttaglia bruttura on celato on palese, *J* nascosta o palese, *P* privata o palese, *Q* tolga bructura — 225 *BMT* lusi, *N* ponendola a mensa, *BCDFGHINT* da sera o da mane, *M* acciena o a desinare, *Q* poi lassa a mensa da sera e da domano

76 *EORSV* omit — 226 *D* chi si mostra cortese, *G* lo invitar chortese, *M* chivita assai chortese, *T* chinvita alla cortese — 227 *y* poi far paghare allo 'nvitato e questo (*rhyming with verse* 265), *M* poi fa invitare allo 'nvitato questo, *Q* poi fa pagare a lo 'nvitato et justo — 228 *BC* perche chiamata invitata pratese, *D* perche si chiama, *y* oggi si chiama, *N* oggi si chiamano invitate pratese, *P* si chiama oggi; *Q* lanvita pratese, *H* invito pratese, *I* invitata sanese

77 *Ey* omit — 229 *D* che homo che — 230 *B* chinvita alchuno, *C* chinvita e svita poi chellaccettato, *D* invita alcuno e quel cotale accepta (*this is really verse* 236, *rhyming with* 238, *since D omits* 78, 79) — 231 *B* et ello isvita onde iene par malle, *C* pero che gli uomini lanno per male, *D* ede lo svita onde gliene par male

78 *DEy* omit — 234 *BC* se per grande casone nonne scuxato

79 *DEy* omit — 235 *B* iscimunito, *C* sciemonito — 236 *C* invita uno e quel cotale accepta — 237 *C* se per dimenticança vien fallito

80 *EOPQSU* and *Poesie di A. P.* omit — 238 *Dy* (-*GMT*) ciascun che si, *R* qualunque si; *N* diletta — 239 *B* chazella tropo, *CDGTV* chaccella troppo, *F* che troppo cella o trecha guadagni, *G* treccha coi guadagni, *H* che non voglion chella treccha, *I* che tropo e spesse

pel baghascion che ttal uttile aspeta.

- 81 241 A noia ancora m'è chi tra compagni  
si mette vini sopra vini nel bichiere  
s'el non dimanda, a ciò ch'el non si lagni.
- 82 244 A noia m'è chi è tropo maniere  
a lo scherçiar di man vota o di piena,  
che ttuttavia no è l'un d'un volere.
- 83 247 A noia m'è se chorttesia di vena  
alchun ricieve, e po' di chi l'à fata  
diciendo va che gli à morsa la schiena.
- 84 250 A noia m'è persona tantto matta  
che quando alchuna lettera si scrive

a trecha, *J* che tropo a ciella, *K* troppo a cellieri o a trescha, *L* che a fetta del pan nel sapor bagni, *M* spendere troppo chella treccha, *N* chettropo in taverna la treccha, *R* acciella troppo o atreccha al paniere (*rhyming with verse* 244) — 240 *B* per el bagasion che quello utile aspeta, *F* pe bagascioni, *G* quel baghascion di quella chella saspeta, *I* per utile che lui da lei aspecta, *N* per essa chagione che utile naspetti, *R* per la cagione che quellutile aspetta, *V* perchel suo bagascion lutile

81 *EPQRSU omit* — 241 *DT* Annoia molto me, *GHMNO* Anoia me anchor, *I* Annoia me ciaschun che, *L* Anoia me che tra compagne e compagni, *V* Annoia me molto che; *CMT* che tra, *BFHIK* che fra, *G* che gran, *O* chen chonpangnia — 242 *B* si mostra, *CFIMNOT* si metta, *D* si mescie, *G* si mettan; *GMO* bicchieri, *I* bicchiero — 243 *xy* se nol dimanda, *JL* se non dimanda, *V* se nol dimandi, *H* senza dimanda; *M* che non singhanni

82 *EQS omit* — 244 *D* Annoia chi troppo e maniere, *CLU* maniero, *FGO* manieri — 245 *BF* alo scherzare, *D* allo schersare, *GIJR* nello scherzare, *HN* scherzando, *KO* cioe di scherzare, *T* inischerzar; *V* dello scherzare di mano o di piene; *N* amman vota oappiatta (*rhyming with verse* 250), *PU* di man voita o di piena, *M* appiena — 246 *P* che tutta volta; *xy* non e luom, *R* luhuomo; *G* non e buono il pensieri; *ABDJLMPR* volere, *CIU* pensiero, *FGHKO* pensieri, *NTV* pensiere

83 *ENOQSU omit* — 247 *HIJKPT* che (chi) chortesia, *V* se chortesia aviene; *G* di bene, *J* serena — 248 *D* ricevi alcuna, *H* dalcun riceve, *I* dalcun riceva et poi dica e la fatta, *J* a rezevuto, *V* uno la ricieve — 249 *D omits*; *G* dicendo va ben glo morse le schiene, *I* perche si vede haver morsa, *K* dica va chelli a morsa, *R* vada diciendo i gli o morso, *T* dicienno va di chi gli a morsa . 84 *EPQS omit* — 250 *CMOT* me per persona — 251 *F* una lettera, *M* alchuna persona iscrive, Nuna lettera si legge ovver si scrive — 252 *M* over leggie a veder di che tratta, *N* che ghuarda cio che

over si legie, ghuarda di che trata.

- 85 253 A noia m'è chi 'n questo mondo vive  
chi pede o rutta con sua volontade,  
che sono usanze misere e chattive.
- 86 256 A noia m'è ch'andando per citade  
s'apogi l'uno a l'altro, over che prenda  
l'arm al chonpagno se gli à nemistade.
- 87 259 A noia m'è, dov'à gientte s'inttenda,  
quando giugne tra lor trastulattore,  
che l'uno il schaci dove gli altri ofenda.
- 88 262 A noia moltto m'è chi è dicitore  
dicha per rima in luogho disonesto,  
e chi nel priegha li fa pocho onore.

87 261 A a tri, *BCy* altri, *DIM* altro

dice occiocche tratta, *V* e guata di che tratta

85 *EPQS* omit — 253 *CL* chen questo — 254 *DT* e peta e rutta, *G* che rutta o petta, *R* e peta o rutti, *FHJNOU* che disonesto; *FHU* di suo, *GINORT* di sua, *JK* per sua; *J* voluptade — 255 *B* chon sono usanze, *H* seghuendo usanze, *T* pero che sono usanze, *U* che segua usanze misere e gattive.

86 *EPQRSU* omit — 256 *BJK* me chi andando, *FI* me andando — 257 *GVO* sapoggia luno a laltro over saprende, *OV* over che prende, *F* chi prenda — 258 *xy* larme al, *G* le braccia al chollo a quel chon amistade, *MV* la bracciaiuola a que cha nimistade, *T* larmadura a quel cha nimistade; *xy* (-*L*) nimistade

87 *EOPQRSU* omit — 259 *D* chi tra gente sintenda, *FHIKN* dove gente sattenda, *G* dove gente sattende, *J* dove zente che intenda, *M* dove giente santenda, *V* dove giente sintende — 260 *D* che sia tralloro alcum trastullatore, *G* che giugnendo tralloro, *I* che giungera fra loro; *B* loro trastulare, *GIMTV* un chantatore, *HJKN* un dicitore, *L* un zanzadore — 261 *D* sun altro il caccia donde laltro offenda; *BL* il cazi, *CGIMV* il cacci, *FJKN* il scaci, *H* che schacca, *T* e uno il chacci over gli altri loffenda, *M* chelluno il chacci ellaltro lo tengha

88 *EOPQRSU* omit — 262 *BC* Anioia anchor me, *D* Annoia me qualunque dicitore, *FGHJKN* Anioia me ancor, *I* Annoia me che quando, *LTV* Anioia me molto, *M* Annoia molto me; *BCG* che dicitore, *FIJKN* un dicitore, *H* uno oratore, *K* uno parlatore, *L* chel cantadore, *M* chel diatore — 263 *x* dica per rima a cella o manifesto, *FHJK* a cella o in istrada, *GMTV* a cella o per istrada, *I* o in piazza o in strada; *L* dica desonesta cosa per la strada, *N* vada ghracciando o alloggia o a strada (*in y this verse rhymes with vada in terz. 65a*) — 264 *B* che chi nel pregha, *C* e chi nel pregia; *y* segli e persona chami punto honore, *I* che alcuno gli faci disonore

- 89 265 A noia m'è chi se profera presto,  
mostrando disedier che 'l chaso naschi,  
po' si nasconde quando gli è richiesto.
- 90 268 A noia m'è chi femine co maschi  
ruzin sott'onbra d'alchun parentado,  
perchè talor s'apichan di ma' fiaschi.
- 91 271 A noia m'è, ed è a pochi a ghrado,  
chi vuol ch'uditti sian suo' motti molto,  
ed e' gli altrui vuol ascoltar di rado.
- 92 274 A noia m'è, ed è parlar di stoltto,  
dir ad alchun "che ài ?" o "chi tte diede ?"  
perchè li vegia alchun difetto in volto.
- 93 277 A noia m'è chi a chavalo o a piede  
non aspetta 'l conpangno, quando è laso  
o à difetto tal che ciò richiede.
- 94 280 A noia m'è chi per via o per chiaso  
si ferma a ragionar dove tenuto.

90 270 A fiachi, *xy* fiaschi

89 *ERSV omit* — 265 *N* chippoffera questo, *Q* chi se profida presto, *U* chi profere presto — 266 *GHIMPT* mostrando di voler; *J* el desire che caso, *Q* nel desio che luche naschi, *MP* un chaso naschi, *T* cosa naschi, *U* mustrando desiderio di servire — 267 *J* po sene fuga undel sia richiesto, *Q* poi se nasconde se mai e richiesto, *T* e poi si fuggie quando eglie richiesto

90 *ERSV omit* — 268 *HIU* che femina, *Q* se femina — 269 *DI* schersi sottombra, *H* ruzzi sottombra, *O* usino insieme, *P* ruccino insieme sottonbra, *Q* va suspecta ad alcuno, *U* scuzando sottombra; *HIT* parentato (*rhyming with* *terz. 13, which follows 90 in FGHIJKLMNPQ*) — 270 *BCG* perche sapichan talor, *D* perche sapicca trallor, *F* pero che vi sattachan, *HJ* chesse ne appiccha, *I* chino veduto talora, *M* che spesso senappiccha, *N* pero che vi sappicchano, *Q* pero che ve sapicha de gram fiaschi, *T* chalchuna volta sapicchan; *KL* di mali fiaschi

91 *Ey omit* — 271 *x* ed a pochi e a ghrado — 272 *D* molto cancelled by original scribe and diede (275) substituted to rhyme with 277, without regard to sense; *Poesie di A. P.* chi vuol ch'a' motti suoi sia dato fede

92 *DEy omit* — 274 *x* perche parlare di stolto

93 *Ey (-F) omit* — 277 *C* oppiede — 279 *F* e a difetto; *B* tal chelgli richiede, *D* tal che non richiede

94 *Ey (-F) omit* — 280 *D* chi va per via o per chiasso — 281 *D* ristando con altrui dove —



agli altrti viandantti sia il paso.

- 95 283 A noia m'è, perchè contra 'l dovuto,  
la dona quando il marito riquista;  
e via più el, s'el non suona liutto.
- 96 286 A noia m'è per costumanza trista  
chi mette mano in borsa, soferendo  
che l'alttro paghi ed el vuol far la vista.
- 97 289 A noia m'è, e però lo riprendo,  
che l'uomo ch'à pasatti y quarantotto  
per la via vada chantando o ridendo.
- 98 292 A noia m'è chi sotto onbra di moto  
dicie parole che dano mattera  
a l'udittor di chrucio e di rinbrotto.
- 99 295 A noia m'è per persona maniera  
chi a la ciela bichieri avilupa  
s'el none presta a bisognosa schiera.
- 100 298 A noia m'è chi fa ne' bichier suppa,  
o in di di digiun mangia palese  
più voltte il di come fanciul da poppa.

98 293 *AD* parola, *B* parolle, *CF* parole

282 *B* ai altri viandanti sera il paso; *C* il passo sia, *D* tiene il passo

95 *Ey* (-*F*) omit — 283 *DF* contra dovuto — 284 *D* quando la moglie il marito laquista — 285 *D* ede ve piu; *xF* se non suona il liuto

96 *Ey* (-*F*) omit — 288 *D* chun altro paghi ede vuol fallauista

97 *Ey* (-*F*) omit — 289 *BD* e pero ne riprendo, *C* e me stesso riprendo, *F* pero nelo riprendo — 290 *D* che quando uno a passato quarantotto, *F* uomo che ai possati i quarantotto; *B* pasati quarantoto, *C* passato i — 291 *C* omits vada; *B* omits o; *DF* vada per via cantando

98 *Ey* (-*F*) omit — 293 *D* si metta parola; *F* materia — 294 *C* alluditor *F* allauditore; *DF* cruccio o di

99 *Ey* (-*F*) omit — 295 *B* me isconzia mainera, *CF* me per isconcia manera, *D* me per sconcia maniera — 296 *xF* alla cella — 297 *BCF* e nonne presta, *D* e none questa

100 *Ey* (-*F*) omit — 298 *D* chi nel bichier fa suppa, *CF* zuppa — 299 *BD* e chi el di del degiun, *C* alla taverna o altrove palese, *F* et chi in di digiun — 300 *BD* piu volte chomel citol chessi spupa (*this rhymes with verses 296:298, as the reading of ACF does not*), *C* comel fanciullo acchui si to la poppa, *F* piu volte il di che un facciul da poppa

- 101 301 A noia m'è chi se mostra corttese  
e fa convitto chon sì fatto viso  
ched el si perde gli amici e le spese.
- 102 304 A noia m'è sì chome matto asiso  
chi se raleghra ov'alttri stia piangiendo  
e per ttristizia à doloratto fiso.
- 103 307 A noia m'è chi ghanbetta sedendo,  
e negli altrui difetti si rinpafa,  
mostrando bestia parlando e taciendo.
- 104 310 A noia m'è chi sofera che stafa  
gli sia da moltto suo magior tenuta,  
che spese voltte vacilando arafa.
- 105 313 A noia m'è chi queste noie muta  
over l'achrescie senza antonio puci,  
ch'à questa partte al vostro onor conpiuta;  
No le muttar stu non vuo' ch' i' me chruci.  
Amen, amen.
- 106 317 Antonio puci ne fu dicittore;  
ghuardivi senpre Christo salvatore.

101 *Ey* (-*F*) omit — 302 *BC* si fato volto — 303 *F* lamicho

102 *Ey* (-*F*) omit — 304 *B* mato e stolto, *C* mutto e storto —  
305 *B* chi canta o ride ovaltri stie piangiendo, *C* chi canta o ride  
ove cio si rifiuta (*rhyming with verse* 313), *D* mostra allegrezza  
dove; *DF* sta — 306 *B* ovegia alchuno adolorato volto, *C* per altro  
che adolorato molto, *D* dove letisia sta turbato nel viso, *F* et per  
trestitia dal dolor conquiso

103 *CEy* (-*F*) omit — 307 *B* segiendo — 308 *B* enei altri difeti;  
*DF* rinpaffa — 309 *D* che mostra bestia parlando o tacendo, *F*  
sichome bestia parlando tacendo

104 *CEy* (-*F*) omit — 311 *D* da molti suoi magior, *F* da suo  
maggior — 312 *B* uzelando saraffa, *DF* uccellando saraffa

105 *Ey* (-*FG*) omit — 313 *D* queste cose muta, *G* queste noie  
legge (*rhyming with terz.* 104a) — 314 *x* over le cresie; *F* senza la  
parola danton pucci, *G* che cresce o sciema senza antonio pucci —  
315 *CG* omit; *D* al vostro honore questa parte e conpiuta — 316  
*CG* guarda lettore che teco non si crucci, *D* Nollo mutar se non  
vuoi me ne crucci. Amen

106 *xy* omit

## ADDITIONS TO THE TEXT

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### 1. — INTERPOLATED TERZINE

Terzine 13a, 13b, in ms. C :

- 13**      A nnoia m'è quand'egli è domandato  
            del ben di dio a que' c'anno il podere,  
            che 'l pover sia dal più pover cacciato.
- 13a**     A nnoia m'è che gli uomini a sedere  
            si ponchan fra lle donne, chè lavoro  
            vi si può fare che non è del dovere.
- 13b**     A nnodio m'è chi nelle sedie in coro  
            si pone ad alti, e sa che nonn è dengno  
            di fare allato a ssuo maggior dimoro.
- 14**      A nnoia m'è, e vil persona tengno,  
            chi conpera candele più per risa  
            c'a rriverença del beato rengno.
- In *ABDE* verse 2 of terz. 13:  
            del ben per dio a que' che sono agiatti  
            verse 1 of terz. 14:  
      A noia m'è che ne' luoghi saghratti

Terzina 71a in ms. K:

- 71a**     A noia m'è ciaschun oltra misura  
            esendo insieme con done in zambra  
            e poi di fore ridir sua factura.

(*Verses 1, 3 rhyme with cura in terz. 71 ; verse 2 does not rhyme with terz. 72.*)

## Terzina 62a in FGHIJKLMNORTV:

- 62        A noia m'è, chi vuole udir si m'oda,  
              chi mangia agrumi e poi con altri fore  
              a ragionar senza riguardo aproda.
- 62a       A noia m'è chi pestando il sapore  
              che 'l pestello e 'l mortaio con man si netta  
              perch'apichato non rimanga fiore.
- 80        A noia m'è ciaschun che si diletta, *ecc.*

*Text according to F; variants: verse 1 G quando pesti il sapore, IJLO quando e pesto il sapore, K chi pesta il sapore, MR quando si fal sapore, T se si pesta sapore, V al pestar del sapore — verse 2 GLMRV chel mortaio el pistello, J sel pistello ol mortal, T sel mortaio o pestello; G non si netta, N con man si netti, R col dito netta, V con man netta — verse 3 G nonne chaggi fore, H non vi lasciando lecchando quel fiore, I non rimanga di fuore, JKLO non rimanga il fiore, R nonne chanpj fiore*

## Terzina 65a in FGHIJKLMNTUV:

- 88        A noia m'è ancor ch'un dicitore  
              dica per rima a cella o in istrada  
              s'egli è persona ch'ami punto honore.
- 65a       A noia m'è che huon di trenta anni vada  
              ghigniendo per la via, e anchor dico  
              che 'l favellar con atti non mi agrada.
- 66        A noia m'è chi mangia coll'amicho, *ecc.*

*Text according to F; in A terz. 88 reads:*

- 88        A noia moltto m'è chi è dicitore  
              dica per rima in luogho disonesto,  
              e chi nel priegha li fa pocho onore.

*In D terz. 88 reads:*

- 88        A nnoia m'è qualunque dicitore  
              dica prima a cella manifesto,  
              e chi nel priegha gli fa poco honore.



*Variants of terz. 65a* : *N* chuno — *IN* ridendo, *J* scherzando, *U* gridando ; *N* o ghingni per chontrada dicho — *G* che ragionar con atti, *J* che rasonar cun mutti e atti, *M* quel favellare chon atti, *N* nel favelare chon atti, *IV* che favellar con atti, *T* chel favellare a motti — *In U* 65a is preceded by 51.

For 73a, 90a, 90b, 90c, 104a, 105a, 106a, 106b, see next section: "Ending of the *Noie* in certain manuscripts."

## 2. — ENDING OF THE *NOIE* IN CERTAIN MANUSCRIPTS. — THE ZOCCOLI COUPLET

In the manuscripts of Group I (except E), and also in F and G, the last *terzina* of the *Noie* is 105 ; in ABDF it has four verses, as is regular at the end of a canto or capitolo in terza rima, while in C (which omits 103, 104) and in G the third verse is omitted. ERSV break off at irregular points in the text. In HIJKLMNPQ the last two *terzine* of the regular text as found in Group I are 90, 13 ; in OTU they are 89, 90 ; in G they are 13, 105. But in AGILMNOU the last regular *terzina* is followed by *terzine* or couplets which (with one exception) are individual in each case. The couplets are numbered 106, 106a, 106b in our table.

In A, the additional couplet 106 repeats Pucci's name and invokes divine protection (see text).

In L, *terzina* 13 is followed by this couplet:

106b            Et sopra tuti a noglia m'è colui  
                 Che fa strassio di sè per dar dilecto altrui.

It may be noted that elsewhere in L the repeated phrase is always *Anoiamè* ; the form *anoglia me*, which is used throughout J, shows this couplet to be an intrusion in L.

In U, a carelessly written manuscript, the order of the *terzine* is irregular and the rhyme-scheme is frequently broken. The concluding *terzine* are 73, 73a, 74, 75, 89, 90, 90a. Between 73 and 74, which are properly connected by

rhyme, the individual *terzina* 73a is interpolated, its first verse rhyming with *celata* in 73 and *brigata* in 74, but otherwise not rhyming; *me* is omitted:

73a           A nnoia chi soffia alla pignata  
                   perchè simile acto è di brottura,  
                   però che non fo mai vento senza acqua.

*Terzina* 90a, also unique, does not rhyme with 90; it reads:

90a           A nnoia m'è chi ha la donna a lecto,  
                   richiedela di giostra e dice : voli,  
                   che nolli monta subito sul pecto.  
   finis.

The word *finis* is followed by three verses rhyming together; see description of the manuscript, above.

In I, *terzina* 13 is followed by an individual *terzina*, 105a, and a sonnet; see next section, "The Imola incunabulum."

In four manuscripts of Group II — GMNO — the text ends with a couplet which we call 106a, beginning *Annoia me* and containing the words *zoccoli per l'asciutto*. In G, the concluding *terzine* are: 89, 90, 13, 104a (peculiar to G), 105, 106a. In M: 89, 90, 13, 90b, 90c (these two being peculiar to M), 106a. In N: 89, 90, 13, 106a. In O: 69, 13, 89, 90, 106a. In no case does the *zoccoli* couplet rhyme with the preceding *terzina*. Here follows the text of the concluding verses according to these four manuscripts:

# G

13           A noia m'è che sendo dimandato  
                   limosina per dio a più maniere  
                   che 'l men possente al povero dia commiato.  
 104a       A noia m'è quando un picciol somiere  
                   venuto di montagne cholle schegge  
                   va passeggiando a ghuisa di destriere.  
 105       A noia m'è chi queste noie legge  
                   che cresce o sciema senza antonio pucci;

ghuarda lettore che techo non si crucci.

- 106a A noia m'è anchora sopra tutto  
quando alchun porta zolcholi per asciutto.

(In 105, *legge* is substituted for *muta*; and in 13, *maniere* for *persone*, of the text of A, to keep the rhyme-scheme intact. The third verse of 105, which would rhyme with the first, — *muta: conpiuta* in A, — is omitted, giving consequently the effect of two couplets at the end.)

## M

- 13 A nnoia m'è ch'essendo adimandato  
limosina per dio a ppiù persone  
che 'l minipossente si gli dia chonmiato.
- 90b A nnoia m'è che chonpare o chomare  
faccino sì chon atti che di loro  
non faccino mal dire o pensare.
- 90c A nnoia m'è che agli inventurati  
tenuti sono anchor pien di virtue  
chon atti addorni e molto chostumati.
- 106a A nnoia m'è sopra tutto  
chi porta i zoccholi per l'asciutto.

Amen.

(After 13, no attempt is made to preserve the rhyme-scheme from one *terzina* to the next.)

## N

- 13 A nnoia m'è quand'è dimandato  
limosina per dio a ppiù persone  
ched e' sia dal più povero acchommiatato.
- 106a A nnoia m'è e ssarà senpre soprattutto  
Chie e zoccholi porta pell'ascutto.  
Onde ne sia l'alto iddio lodato.  
deo ghrazias ammenne.

(Followed by the sonnet : *Quel giovane che vvuole avere onore...*)

## O

- 13           A noia m'è quando è adimandato  
               limosina per dio a più persone  
               che 'l meno posente al povero dia chomiato.
- 89           A noia m'è chi si profera presto,  
               mostrando el disidero che il chaso naschi,  
               poi si nasconde quando egl'è richiesto.
- 90           A noia m'è che femina cho maschi  
               usino insieme d'alchuno parentado  
               perchè talota s'apichano di ma' fiaschi.
- 106a        A noia m'è sopra tuto  
               chi portò i zocholi per l'ascuto.  
                                 Finite Lanoie.

(This is the only manuscript in which 89 follows 13; no attempt to preserve the rhyme of 89 with 13, but 90 rhymes with 89.)

The irregularity of the endings of the *Noie*, the failure to preserve the rhyme-scheme intact, and the character of the individual additions in the manuscripts of Group II, contrasted with the comparatively regular endings (mentioning Pucci's name) in Group I, indicate clearly that the accretions do not go back to Pucci himself but are due to the individual caprices of copyists or reciters. In particular, this is true of the *zoccoli* couplet; but since this couplet is found in four manuscripts of the *Noie*, it suggests a more noteworthy tradition than the verses found in a single manuscript, and calls for comment. The four manuscripts are all of the fifteenth century: G, with 83 *terzine*, includes everything that the others have (except the individual 90b, 90c in M), and also the individual 104a, as well as 105 (which is characteristic of Group I); M, with 81 *terzine*, omits 26, 36, 105; N has 70 *terzine*; O has 63 *terzine*. Accordingly, G might have been the immediate source of MNO, but in that case there is no reason why 104a and 105



should not have been copied; if the copyists had definitely preferred to omit Pucci's name at the end, they would not have given it in the rubric at the beginning (as in M and N). Probably all four texts were copied from a lost manuscript of Group II in which the *zoccoli* couplet was added to the *Noie*-text; and in addition G derived 105 from a manuscript of Group I. O is not derived from M or N, since it has *terzina* 36, which they omit. N is not derived from M, since it has *terzina* 26, which M omits. A grouping GMNO as distinguished from the rest of Group II is not confirmed, however, either by the arrangement of *terzine* or by the variants; although in *terzina* 48 *fa turbar* instead of *fa brutta* is the reading of DGMNOR, and in 81 *Anoia me anchor* is the reading of GHMNO.

The *zoccoli* couplet occurs in the manuscript of the *Enoio* of Girardo Patecchio; according to Novati's text (also in Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 530) the first two verses of the sixth stanza are as follows:

Anojami anchuor sopra tutto  
andar in zochule per lo tutto.

It is by no means certain, however, that the second verse was in the original text of Patecchio; according to the correct rhyme-scheme, the second verse should not rhyme with the first, and it may well be a comparatively late intrusion. Such at any rate is the opinion of Ezio Levi, who eliminates it in his attempt to constitute a critical text out of the extremely corrupt readings of the unique fifteenth century manuscript. In other words, just as the *zoccoli* couplet (of which the first verse reads in G: *A noia m'è anchora sopra tutto*) was added to the text of Pucci's *Noie*, so the verse *andar in zochule per lo tutto* may have been inserted in Patecchio's poem to follow the verse *Anojami anchuor sopra tutto*. And this may have taken place at any time between the middle of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fifteenth, perhaps even after the addi-

tion to the text of Pucci. Probably it was a colloquial expression in the middle of the fourteenth century, when we find it used by Boccaccio (see below); certainly it affords no ground for saying that Patecchio influenced Pucci or any of his copyists.

*Zoccoli* are wooden shoes, or a kind of sandals with wooden soles and heels. The word is a diminutive derived from *soccus*, and means also blockhead, plinth, clod, hoof, etc. Cappuccini, *Vocabolario*, says that *montanari*, *contadine*, *paesane*, *lavandaie*, *stallieri*, *frati*, wear *zoccoli*. Zingarelli, *Vocabolario*, 3a ed., 1925, defines *zoccolo* as "Scarpa col fondo di legno che si adopera da contadini, e nelle scuderie e nelle lavande di bordo per sollevarsi dagl' imbratti e dal bagnato"; *zoccolante* as "Frate della regola francescana che calza zoccoli." <sup>1</sup> N. Tommaseo, *Nuovo dizionario de' sinonimi della lingua italiana*, Napoli, 1906, § 3500, s. v. *zoccolo*, says: "L'usano per difendersi dall' umido gli stallieri, i baccalari, e certe donne in Toscana che portano acqua." Francesco Alunno, *Le Ricchezze della lingua volgare*, Vinegia, 1543, f. 200v, remarks: "Vo. Vinitiano quando significa le pianelle, ma quando dinota zoccoli di legno che portan frati, o che si portan l'inverno per gente bassa è Vo. Thoscano, et di qui è tratto quel motto che si dice volendo dinotare silentio, che ponendosi il dito indice alla bocca si dice zoccoli, cioè senza romore, perche essi nell' andare fanno romore." It may be inferred from these statements that *zoccoli* were worn regularly by *frati*, but by others only to keep their feet dry in wet places or in wet weather. Hence, "to go in *zoccoli* in dry weather" would be a somewhat foolish, exceptional or unnatural thing to do, and accordingly an object of censure or ridicule. There is a proverb which says:

1. Cf. P. Giacchi, *Dizionario del vernacolo fiorentino*, Firenze, 1878, p. 108: Zoccolanti. Frati dell'ordine Franciscano e che in antico portavano gli zoccoli. Ora portano le ciabatte ... ma conservano sempre l'antico nome.

Coccolo s'infangha  
Ma non pelle in su stanga.<sup>1</sup>

But that the phrase had a more sinister meaning, which was not necessarily first given to it by Boccaccio, is evident from a passage in the *Decamerone*, giornata V, novella 10; the neglected wife of Pietro di Vinciolo, of Perugia, who "molto più ad altro che a lei l'animo avea disposto," soliloquizes: "Questo dolente abbandona me, per volere con le sue disonestà andare in zoccoli per l'asciutto, et io m'ingegnerò di portare altrui in nave per lo piovoso.... Io offenderò le leggi sole, dove egli offende le leggi e la natura."<sup>2</sup>

### 3. — THE IMOLA INCUNABULUM AND THE SONNET "IL GIOVANE CHE VUOL AVERE ONORE"

The text of the *Noie* in the Imola incunabulum (I) consists of 82 *terzine*, followed without break by a sonnet of 17 verses (*sonetto caudato*). Galli's catalogue of the Imola library states that there are 87 *terzine*, an error caused by counting the sonnet as five *terzine*. The final *terzina* 105a, not found in any manuscript, is connected by rhyme with *terzina* 13 which precedes it, but not with the sonnet which follows. In connection with this example of a sonnet added

1. Cf. Appel, "I Proverbi di Ghaza," in *Propugnatore*, N. S. III, i, p. 73. This proverb, the first in a list of those beginning with *z*, occurs in Cod. Riccard. 2183, f. 18r (our ms. T), on the same page on which the text of the *Noie* begins, in this form: "çoccholo sinfangha, non pelle in su stangha." Same text given from several mss. by F. Novati, "Le Serie alfabetiche proverbiali," in *GSLI*, LIV, pp. 35-54. In the *Centiloquio* LXXVII, *terz.* 37, Pucci uses the expression "battendo colle spade i zoccoli."

2. *Il Decameron di messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. P. Fanfani, Firenze, 1857, II, 69-70. Fanfani notes: "*Andare in zoccoli per l'asciutto* dicesi di chi è macchiato del vizio di sodomia." Zingarelli, *op. cit.*, defines the phrase as "di sodomiti." F. Alunno, *loc. cit.*, quotes the passage from the *Decameron*, and adds: "prover. Che tanto suona quanto andar dinanzi et di dietro, etc." The *Dizionario* of Tommaseo e Bellini gives examples of various meanings of *zoccolo*; referring to the phrase of Boccaccio, it says: "in signif. osceno." For the prevalence of this vice, cf. R. Davidsohn, *Firenze ai tempi di Dante*, Firenze, 1929, pp. 569-72.





Doubtless the manuscript which the printer used as copy, or its immediate source, ended, like many of the manuscripts in Group II, with *terz.* 13. The printer, or the copyist of his manuscript, probably attempted to fill out a page by composing additional verses of his own; but after inventing one *terzina* he discovered that the sonnet, which no doubt followed the *Noie* in his original, would serve the purpose. He therefore simply added it, without making the rhymes correspond. The didactic character of the sonnet made the combination seem natural, although the sonnet, instead of protesting against what should not be done, gives advice as to what should be done.

This sonnet is found, with variant readings, in at least seventeen manuscripts, in two of which, K and N, it accompanies the *Noie*. In most manuscripts, including K and N, it is anonymous; in others it is ascribed to Antonio da Ferrara, to Ser Cino, to Ser Ciano dal Borgho, to Bindo Bonichi; in K it precedes a sonnet bearing Pucci's name (see description of K, above), and in Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145 it is found in the group of seventy sonnets ascribed to Pucci. From this last manuscript it was published by Volpi, *Rime di Trecentisti minori*, p. 108, as of Pucci.<sup>1</sup> Doubt has been thrown on the ascription to Pucci (see I. Sanesi, "Bindo Bonichi da Siena e le sue rime," in *GSLI*, XVIII, pp. 68-70); but the close association of the sonnet with compositions which are unquestionably his, as well as its harmony with the subjects and the style of his known writings, confirms the evidence of Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, the only manuscript which gives it definitely with his name.<sup>2</sup> Although in I and K the name of

1. Reprinted by Ferri, p. 189, with an inaccurate list of mss. derived from Bilancioni, in *Propugnatore* III. ii. 197, who puts the sonnet under the name of Ciano da Borgo San Sepolcro (cf. Cod. Ambros.).

2. In this ms. the poets' names are not given with the individual sonnets, but at the bottom of f. 70v is a rubric *finiti i sonetti di burchiello Incominciano sonetti dantonio pucci*. The group of son-

Pucci is not attached to the *Noie*, in N it is so attached ; and the fact that our sonnet follows the *Noie* in these three cases must be given due weight. All in all, it seems highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that this sonnet is the work of Pucci. The variants of all the manuscripts are given below. It will be seen that in I the arrangement of the verses and some of the readings are different from those of any manuscript.

The text of the *Noie* in K corresponds fairly closely to that of I, but cannot be its source. It lacks *terz.* 53, which is present in I, and has the individual *terz.* 71a, which is not in I; furthermore, in K the sonnet contains only thirteen verses. It is evident, however, that the immediate source of I is closely related to K, which is a fourteenth-century manuscript. In N the sonnet comes immediately after the *Noie*, and as in most of the manuscripts it has fourteen verses (in K *La Doctrina de lo Schiavo de Bari* intervenes between the *Noie* and the sonnet). The *Noie* in N omits many verses present in I, which therefore cannot be derived directly or indirectly from N. Only two manuscripts (Magliab. VII. 1171 and VII. 1190) give the sonnet with a three-verse coda, as in I; and their readings differ. In every case, however, the sonnet ends with a couplet of which the rhyme-words are *pio: dio (iddio)* ; this couplet being verses 13 and 14 in the regular sonnet, or 16, 17 when there is a coda. The rhyme-scheme of the tercets when there is no coda: CDC, DEE, familiar enough in the English sonnet, is

nets ascribed to Burchiello is incomplete on account of the loss of some folios; fortunately the group ascribed to Pucci is complete, extending from f. 71r to f. 91r. The sonnets (as well as the folios) are numbered, running from 82 to 151; "Il giovane che vuole avere onore" is No. 112, on f. 79v. The Pucci group includes a number of sonnets which have been ascribed to Burchiello and published as his, and others of uncertain attribution; one (f. 84v) is "Nè per sereno cielo ir vaghe stelle" by Petrarca, No. 312 in his *Rime*. Nevertheless this fifteenth-century manuscript contains many sonnets of Pucci not found elsewhere, and its authority is considerable. The remarks of Ferri, p. 43 and *passim*, amount to nothing.

extremely uncommon in Italian. In Ferri, p. 136, there is one sonnet which has it, "Quando se' alto tal si mostra amico," from Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, in addition to the sonnet in question (Ferri, p. 189). Biadene, *Morfologia del sonetto*, p. 40, states that the same scheme occurs in six sonnets by Fazio degli Uberti, in two by Antonio da Ferrara, and in very few others; it is found, however, in a number of sonnets by Niccolò del Rosso.<sup>1</sup> The schemes CDC, CEE and CCD, DEE are still less common. In fact, the ending with a couplet seems entirely foreign to the essential character of the Italian sonnet in its original form with fourteen verses. On the other hand, the coda consisting of a *settenario* rhyming with verse 14 and followed by a couplet of *endecasillabi*, seems to harmonize perfectly with the regular fourteen verses; the short *settenario* sets the coda off and shows it to be an addition, yet connects it organically with the sonnet by means of the rhyme. The resulting form of the tercets and coda, CDC, DCD, dEE, is exceedingly common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, being the recognized form for sonnets of the "familiar" or *borghese* type represented by Pucci, Burchiello, and many other writers.<sup>2</sup> Much less common is the coda or ritornello of two *endecasillabi* without the *settenario*. Ferri's edition, with due regard to its unscholarly character and the uncertainty of many attributions, as well as to the fact that the form of some sonnets varies in different manuscripts (as in the case which we are now considering), may serve as a basis for a rough count of the sonnet-forms used by Pucci. Of the 141 sonnets in this edition, 102 have the three verse coda; 18 have the coda of two *endecasillabi*

1. *Il Canzoniere Vat. Barb. Lat.* 3953, ed. G. Lega, Bologna, 1905, pp. 214-51 (Dominus Nicolaus de Rubeo); *Sonetti burleschi e realistici dei primi due secoli*, ed. A. F. Massera, Bari, Laterza, 1920, I, pp. 197-234.

2. Cf. Biadene, *op. cit.*, p. 77; F. Flamini, *Notizia storica dei versi e metri italiani*, Livorno, 1919, p. 26; F. Redi, *Bacco in Toscana*, Firenze, 1685, long note on *sonetti*, especially pp. 119-21.

(of these, 16 have the scheme CDC, DCD, EE; one has CDC, DEE, FF); five have a coda of one verse rhyming with the preceding (CDC, DCD, D); and only sixteen have the regular fourteen verses without coda. All nine of the sonnets in *Poesie di A. P.*, 10 of the 12 ascribed to Pucci in Carducci, *Rime di M. Cino da Pistoia e d'altri*, 15 of the 19 in Volpi, *Rime di Trecentisti minori*, have the three-verse coda. Of the seventy sonnets in the group ascribed to Pucci in Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, 19 have the regular fourteen-verse form; twice as many, 38, have a three-verse coda, 10 have a two-verse coda, and three are irregular. According to Biadene, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-77, the coda originally was added to the sonnet as a *commiato* was added to a canzone, and the form EE or FF is older than the form dEE; nevertheless, the latter form largely displaced the form consisting of a couplet alone. Curiously enough, Pucci's sonnet on the sonnet:

Fammi di piè quattordici il sonetto,

says nothing about a coda, yet itself has a coda of two verses.<sup>1</sup>

From the data presented in this digression it appears probable that in its original form the sonnet *Il giovane che vuol avere onore* had a coda, as in the incunabulum and in two manuscripts. Unfortunately, the readings of the tercets and coda differ more widely than do those of the quatrains. In N (and with minor variants in most of the mss.) the tercets read (f. 85v):

9            Usi cho' buoni e ffugha chosa vile,  
                  tema verghongnia e ssia leale e presto  
                  in ciaschun atto di leggiadro istile;

1. This is the second sonnet in a corona of twelve, published by A. D'Ancona from a ms. at Udine as "L'Arte del dire in rima," in *Miscellanea Caix-Canello*, Firenze, 1886, pp. 293-303. The corona is reprinted by Ferri, pp. 167-75, and this sonnet is quoted by Biadene, *op. cit.*, p. 29. See also S. Morpurgo in *RivCLI*, II (1885) p. 180.



- 12           E ssia nel bere e nnel mangiare onesto;  
               d'amici s'armi e ssia dischreto e ppio,  
               ma ssopra ttutto ami e ttema iddio.

The text of I, as given above, is similar in the corresponding verses. Of the two manuscripts which give the sonnet with a coda, Cod Magliab. VII. 1171, f. 100v, agrees with N in verses 9-11 and reads as follows from verse 12 on:

- 12           E sia nel bere e nel mangiare modesto,  
               e a ciaschun che gli parla sia humile,  
               e in ogni atto cortese e onesto;  
 15           E con dio stia desto;  
               d'amici s'armi e sia humile e pio,  
               e sopra tutto ami e tema iddio.

Cod. Magliab. VII. 1190, f. 1r, has individual readings throughout; beginning with verse 9 it reads as follows:

- 9           Tema vergogna, e'n ogni cosa humile,  
               D'amici s'armi e sia reale e lesto,  
               E sempre sia magnanimo e gentile.  
 12           Sia nel mangiar e nel suo ber modesto,  
               Sia leggiadro e benigno ogni suo stile  
               Et in ogn'atto pudico et honesto.  
 15           Et ancor dopo questo  
               Di virtù s'armi e viva casto e pio;  
               Ma sopra tutto tema et ami dio.

It is probable, then, that the fourteen-verse form of the sonnet preserves as a final couplet the two *endecasillabi* of the coda; the original verses 13 and 14 preceding the coda, however they may have read, and the *settenario* of the coda being omitted. It is easier to assume that a sonnet of seventeen verses with the characteristic coda was shortened in this way, than to assume that a sonnet of fourteen verses with the very unusual tercets CDC, DEE was enlarged by the insertion of three verses before the final couplet for the purpose of creating a coda where none existed before

and of making the rhyme-scheme more regular. And moreover, in spite of the number of manuscripts giving this sonnet with fourteen verses, the preponderance of sonnets with the three-verse coda among Pucci's sonnets raises the presumption that in this case also there was originally such a coda.

Assuming this theory to be correct, we may give the text of the sonnet as nearly as can be determined in its original form, followed by a list of the manuscripts known to contain it, and the variants of each one (except mere differences in spelling or in order of words). The text was copied for me from a dozen of these manuscripts by Professor Lawrence Levengood; of the rest I have either rotographs or copies made by other friends. The critical text of the sonnet is as follows:

- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 1  | Il giovane che vuol avere onore<br>molt' oda e poco parli infra la gente,<br>sollazzi poco e sia ubbidiente<br>di cosa che non renda disonore.              |
| 5  | E quand' egli ode un motto di valore,<br>tosto lo 'mprenda e rechiselo a mente;<br>cortese e largo sia et imprendente<br>d'ogni bontà, e non sia mentitore. |
| 9  | Usi co' buoni e fugga cosa vile,<br>tema vergogna e sia leale e presto<br>in ciascun atto di leggiadro stile;   |
| 12 | E sia nel bere e nel mangiar modesto,   |
| 13 | e a ciaschun che gli parla sia humile,  |
| 14 | e in ogni atto cortese e onesto.  |
| 15 | Et ancor dopo questo  |
| 16 | D'amici s'armi e sia onesto e pio,  |
| 17 | E sopra tutto ami e tema Iddio.   |

#### Manuscripts and Variants

Magl. VII. 1171, f. 100v:

2 odassai poco parli — 7 cortese sia e largho fralla giente — 15 E  
con dio stia desto — 16 humile e pio

Magl. VII. 1190, f. 1r:

1 vuol fama e honore — 2 raro parli — 3 sia molto prudente —  
4 in ogni cosa e non sia mentitore — 5 ode qualche detto di —  
7 largo cortese essendo obbediente — 8 in quel che non gli torna  
dishonore — 9-17 *see above*

Imola incunabulum : *see above* (this and the two mss. above  
have the coda)

Bologna, Bibl. Univ. cod. 158, f. 11v (ms. K):

*heading* Vita duno giovine.

1 portare honore — 4 cose non ne vengha — 9 viva piatoso e  
fugga cose vili — 11, 13, 14, 15 *om.* — 16 leale e pio — 17 E ami  
sopra tutto e tema dio

Magl. II. 40, f. 85v (ms. N):

*heading* Sonetto dammaestamento nota

1 Quel — 5 Poi — 7 intendente — 12 onesto — 13, 14, 15 *om.* —  
16 dischreto eppio — 17 Massoprattutto

Magl. VII. 1145, f. 79v (among sonnets ascribed to A. Pucci):

4 cose che non rendan — 7 intendente — 8 ogni vertu — 13, 14,  
15 *om.* — 16 viva onesto — 17 e ami sopra tutto e tema iddio

Palatino 315 (B.N.C., Firenze), f. 99v:

13, 14, 15 *om.* — 17 e ami sopra tutto e tema iddio

Laur. XC inf. 47, f. 109v:

1 Quel — 4 a chosa non gli torni — 5 Po quando — 7 intendente  
— 11 di gentile istile — 12 Nel mangiare e nel bere sia honesto —  
13, 14, 15 *om.* — 16 tarma — 17 Ma

Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. X. B. 10, f. 9:

*heading* Antonius de Ferrara.

2 Molto olda e pocho parla — 5 E quando lolde — 7 Cortese sia  
acorto — 8 Dogni virtute — 13, 14, 15 *om.* — 17 E sopra tutti

Riccard. 818, f. 91v:

*heading* Ser Cino.

1 trovare — 13, 14, 15 *om.* — 16 viva honesto — 17 E ami  
sopra tutto e tema iddio

Riccard. 931, f. 63v:

6 lappari e tenghilo — 11 en chasa sua et altri sia humile —  
12 honesto — 13, 14, 15 *om.* — 16 viva honesto — 17 et sopra  
ogni chosa tema Iddio

Riccard. 2816, f. 96v:

*heading* Soneto di Giovaneto.

1 trovare — 4 che non torni in — 5 quando truovi — 7 achorto  
sia acieto e diligiente — 8 dogni vertu — 13, 14, 15 *om.* — 17 et  
sopra tuto temi e ami iddio

Ambrosiano C. 35 sup., f. 399v (copy kindly furnished by Senator M. Scherillo):

heading Sonetto di Ser Ciano dal borgo.

8 dongni virtu — 12 onesto — 13, 14, 15 om. — 17 et ami sopra tutti el vero Iddio

Bodleian Lib., Canoniciano Ital. 13, f. 54r-54v:

1 Al ... portare — 4 di cosa non gli avenga — 9 viva piatoso e fuga — 13, 14, 15 om. — 17 e ami sopra tutto e teme idio

Vat. Lat. 4787, f. 140r:

heading m. a. di f.

1 trovare — 13, 14, 15 om. — 17 Loro ame quanto se e tema dio

Siena, Bibl. Comunale, cod. I. viii. 36, f. 33v:

6 lo scolti e recaselo. — 7 in precedenti — 10 e sia sempre onesto — 11 ed abbia in via atto di leggiadro fiore — 13, 14, 15 om. — 16 damici far e sia

Laurenziano, Acquisti e doni 137, f. 6r (copy kindly furnished by Professor M. Barbi):

heading Idem (following poems of Bindo Bonichi da Siena)

8 virtu — 9 fugi cose uili — 10 come a uerghognia — 11 in tutti li atti di leali stili — 13, 14, 15 om.

Laurenziano Mediceo Palatino 119, f. 124r (not no. 110, as given by Bilancioni and Ferri; I owe this information to Professor M. Barbi, and a copy of the text to Professor Antonio Zardo):

3 stia — 13, 14, 15 om. — 16 e viva onesto — 17 ma sopra tutto elgli ami

#### Editions

A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, Roma, 1839, I, p. 688 (from Cod. Ambros., with ascription to Ciano del Borgo).

Karl Hillebrand, *Dino Compagni, étude historique et littéraire sur l'époque de Dante*, Paris, 1862, p. 430.

Fanfani, « Sonetti morali di Antonio Pucci, » in *Letture di Famiglia*, XXIX (aprile, 1877), pp. 193-69.

G. Bottoni, *Saggio di rime inedite di Maestro Antonio da Ferrara*, Ferrara, Taddei, 1878.

G. Volpi, *Rime di Trecentisti minori*, Firenze, 1907, p. 108 (from Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, with ascription to Pucci).

Ferri, p. 189 (from Volpi).

The sonnet is cited in the Bilancioni index, *Propugnatore* III. ii. 197; by I. Sanesi in *GSLI*, XVIII (1891), p. 68-70; by G. Gnaccarini, *Indice delle antiche rime volgari a stampa che fanno parte della Biblioteca Carducci*, Bologna, 1909, I,



p. 234, as of Antonio Beccari (i. e., da Ferrara); by G. Volpi in *GSLI*, XV (1890), p. 48.

#### 4. — THE TEXT OF THE 1775 EDITION

The text of the *Noie* in *Poesie di A. P.* (1775) is based on D, with a few readings from O. In the main, D corresponds with A, but it has some individual readings and omits terzine 78, 79 and 92 (which are found only in ABC); it also omits the third verse of 83. These verses (lacking also in O) are of course omitted in *Poesie di A. P.*, and the editor furthermore omitted terz. 80 and arbitrarily changed a number of expressions which offended his sense of propriety; however, nearly all the departures from the readings of D, other than modernization of the orthography, are indicated in notes. (These notes are omitted in the reprints of the 1775 text in 1817 and 1909; Ferri, however, supplies from another manuscript the missing verse of terz. 83.)

A few of the readings of *Poesie di A. P.* are given above with the variants from the text of A; here are presented all the significant (not merely orthographical) variants as compared with D and with the emended text of A. The numbering of the terzine is identical up to 77; beyond that point it is indicated both for A and for *Poesie*. Where *Poesie* follows O, this fact is indicated by "(O)".

terz.	A (emended)	<i>Poesie di A. P.</i>	D
1 I priegho		Io priego	Priegho
2 conscienza		cognoscenza	cognoscenza
3 di que che fiano		di que'che scrivo (O so- no)	che fieno scritti
4 in que' ch'a siguitarla		in que', che'n seguitarla	in che conseguirla
6 A noia m'è, quando si dicie mesa		A noia m'è quando si dice Messa (O)	Annoia me quando si dice la messa
7 chi vegiendoi signore		quando s'alza il Signore	quando si leva il signore
8 chrucio		cruccio	coruccio
9 qualunque al		chi in Chiesa al	chin chiesa al
10 partte		luogo	luogo
11 col fratte		col Prete (O)	col frate
12 quand'alttr' è inn ora- zione... muttar li fa		quando sto in orazione mutar mi fa	quando sto in oratione mutar mi fa

## terz.

## A

## Poesie

## D

13 dal più pover chaciato	dal più ricco scacciato	dal più ricco scacciato
15 per ogni ghuisa	sopr'ogni guisa	soprogni guisa
16 mortti	'l morto	lmorto
17 non aparttegna	non s'appartenga	non sapartenga
18 il va ciaschuno	va, ognun	va ogniun
19 ch'el si renda... a mer- cienaio che sia ben che finalmente son tutte perdute	che si renda... a un mer- cenaio ch'è bene che peggio elle mi paion che perdute	chi si rende... ad uno mercennaio che bene che peggio elle mi paion che perdute
20 è più che quel cotale	n'è più che quel cotale	che più che quel tale
21 alchun per dare	per voler dare (O)	alcun per dare
22 chiunque	ciascun che	ciascum che
23 ciascheduna	ciascheduna	ciaschuna
ch'inver l'amicho per pichola ofesa	che inver l'amico per piccola offesa (O)	al suo compagno per pic- ciola offesa
24 chiunque	ciascun che	ciascum che
25 ch'el fa inmalencho- nir chi gli è presente	ch' e' fa inmalinconir chi v' è presente (O)	(verse 72 repeated)
26 chiunque	ciascun	ciaschun
27 chiunque è ttanto matto	chi è tanto folle, o mat- to (O)	chi e tanto matto
sparla tratto tratto	sparla ad ogni tratto	sparla ad ogni tratto
28 A noia molto m'è chi è	A noia m'è ciascuno ch'è (O)	Annoia me chi e
29 chiunque olttra misu- ra	ciascun ch'oltramisura (O)	ciascun fuor di misura
vegiendo il padre gnu- do e none chura	e vede il padre ignudo e non n'ha cura	et vede il padre ignudo e non a cura
30 chiunque	qualunque	qualunque
o ascholtar chi vuol parlar di quetto	o ad ascoltar chi vuol parlar di cheto (O parlare sagreto)	o ascoltare parole di cheto
volendo udirlo contra tra 'l suo volere	volendo udir contra l'al- trui volere	volendo udir contra l'al- trui volere
31 e poscia le redicie	e poscia le ridice	e poi li ridice
32 istatto felice	istato felice (O)	tasto felice
disdegna	discaccia	discaccia
33 che quando è saluttatto	che quando è salutato (O)	quandeglie salutato
perch'el si tturba	onde si turba	onde si turba
34 chi non avendo donde li rechi	chi che ne avesse donde s'arrechi	chi nonne avesse donda si rechi
ttogli a ttal	tollo a tal (O)	torce a tal
35 ch'a me di tte e a tte di me	ch'a te di me, a me di te	ch'a tte di me a me di te
ond' el mi par che	onde convien che	onde convien che
36 una dona	alcuna donna	una donna
37 dir d'alchunapersona, e po' raporta	dir d'alcuna persona e poi riporta	oira dalcuna persona poi riporta
38 a chi l'ha fatta pregia	a chi l'ha fatta, fregia (O)	a chi la fatta pregia
39 mi fregia (A pregia)	mi pregia	mi pregia

terz.	A	Poesie	D
40	una mostrando nel chore achocha	una mi mostra nel core accocca (O)	una mi mostra nel cor li tocca
41	A noia tanto m'è	A noia m'è tanto	Annoia me tanto
42	A noia anchora m'è diettro tenere	A noia m'è chi drieto vuol tenere	Annoia me chi chi drie- to vuol tenere (sic)
43	senza chiarir le man si vada	senza lavar le mani vada	senza lavar le mani vadi
	senz' alchun lavare	alcun senza lavare	alchum senza lavare
44	A noia m'è per persona melensa	A noia m'è persona si mi- lensa (O omits)	Annoia me persona mis- leansa
	la bocha e la mano	bocca colla mano	la bocca olla mano
	solo a mangiar	pure al mangiar	pure al mangiare
46	per persona landitta	persona di bandita (O omits)	persona di landita
	che giugnendo	quando giugne	che giugnendo
	se'l fa, chi non rispon- de e no lo 'nvita	e se v'è chi risponde non lo invita	e se ve chi risponde nol- lo invita
47	sputta	si sputa	sputa
48	chi manichandoschia- cia	chi mangiando si schiac- cia (O)	ancora chie schiaccia
	nuciole od alttro	nocciole o noci	nocciole o noce
	e fa brutta la faccia	e fa turbar la faccia	e fa turbar la faccia
49	ripichia	ripicchia (O)	ripiglia
	ove più n'à presentti	dov'ha molti presenti	dona molti presenti
50	sovrà gli altrui mon- cichia	con gli altrui ammontic- chia	colli altri monsicchia
52	agli udittor, cioè	sopra al mangiar, cioè	sopra al mangiare cioè
53	o d'alttro ch'è dintor- no	od in altro d'attorno	o in altro datorno
	chon li chuchia vi si manucha	che con cucchiaio vi si mangi	che con chuchiaio vi si mangi
54	A noia tanto m'è ch'i	A noia m'è tanto che	Annoia me tanto che
56	e s'al chiamar non ris- ponde corendo	e se risponde quand'io lo riprendo (O omits)	e sal chiamare non ris- pondo (sic)
57	posendo ad agio la- sarlo freddare	avendo l'agio di poterl freddare	avendo lagio di poterlo freddare
60	che non richiede	che non richiede (O)	che nollì richiede
61	si mal nodritto	così mal notrito	si mal notrito
	ch'a ttavola usi di	ch'ha usanza a mensa di	usanza a mensa di
63	e più di nove	e più di dove (O omits)	et più di nove
	s'ela si mena serve	ella si mena, e serve	sella si mena serve
65	che tal uso si spande	chi 'n tal riso si spande (O omits)	chi tale uso si spende
66	se'n chasa sua sollicita	e 'n casa sua sollicita (O)	in casa sua sollicitare
67	il vin di mano a cholui che gl' il mescie	di mano il vino a colui che gliel mesce (O)	in mano a colui che gie mescie
	verun no lo scioglie	l'altro non ne scioglie	laltro nonè scioglie
68	A noia tanto m'è che me ne 'nchrescie	A noia m'è tanto, che mi rincesce	Annoia me tanto che mi rincescie
	e ciaschun sta intento	onde ognun sta 'ntento	onde ogniun sta tanto

terz.	A	terz.	Poesie	D
	e chosì alchun non entra over non escie	sicchè alcun non entra, e alcun non esce		siche alcun non entra ove non escie
70	chionque è chon altrui	chi vada con altrui		chi va con altrui
71	A noia m'è qualunque è aspettatto	A noia m'è molto chi éne aspettatto		Annoia me molto chie aspettatto
	faciendo del niente	facendo del niente		facendo del monte
72	e chi 'n presenza altrui loda le sue	e 'n presenza d'altrui lodi le sue		in presenza daltrui lodi le sue
	che di tal mostra l'asina	che quelle, per cui asima		che quelle chellazima
73	quando di ttre e' due si vano ragionando	chi mentre insieme due istanno ragionando		che dentre insieme due insieme ragionando
	che men churan del tterzo	e' cura men del terzo		e curan meno del terzo
74	tanto vilane	troppe villane		troppe villane
	ch'alchun si schochi, ond' ela sia turbata	s alcun si cruccia, la festa è turbata		salcum si cruccia la festa e turbata
75	chi chon l'afettapane	chi col coltel da pane		chi col coltello affetta pane
76	invitar come cortese lasar paghare	chi si mostra cortese lascia pagare		chi si mostra cortese lascia pagare
	però che questa è	perchè si chiama		perche si chiama
77	chom uon	77 se uom		che homo
	chi 'nvitta altrui, e po' ch' egli à acietato	invita alcuno, e quel tale accetta		invita alcuno e quel tale acepta
	onde que' l'à per male	onde gliene par male		onde gliene par male
78, 79		(omitted)		(omitted)
80	chiunque	(omitted)		Annoia me ciascum che si diletta
				cha cella troppo la trecca guadagni
	pel baghascion			per bachaston che tale utile aspetta
81	A noia ancora m'è simettevini sopra vini s'el non dimanda	78 A noia m'è ancor si mesce vin sopra vin se nol dimanda		Annoia molto me si mescie vino sopravino se nol dimanda
82	no è l'un	79 non è l'uom		none luon
83	alchun ricieve	80 ricevi alcuna (O omits) (third verse omitted)		ricevi alcuna (third verse omitted)
85	chi pede o rutta con	82 in atti sconci con (O e sia disonesto di)		e peta e rutta con
87	dov'à gientte s'intenda	84 chi tra gente, se intenda		chi tra gente sintenda
	quando giugne tra lor che l'uno il schaci dove gli altri ofenda	che sia tra loro alcun s' un altro il caccia dondel'altro offenda		che sia tralloro alcun sun altro il caccia donde laltro offenda
88	A noia moltto m'è chi è dicitore	85 A noia m'è qualunque dicitore		Annoia me qualunque dicitore



ters.	A	ters.	Poesia	D
	dicha per rima in luogho disonesto		che dica prima a cella manifesto	dica prima a cella mani- festo
89	nasconde	86	nasconda	nasconde
90	ruzin sott'ombra perchè talor s'apichan	87	scherzin sott'ombre perchè s'appiccan tra lor	schersi sott'ombra perche sappica trallor
91	ed è a pochi a ghrado	88	e so, che a pochi è a grado	et a pochi e agrado
	chi vuol ch'uditti sian suo motti molto		chi vuol ch' a' motti suoi sia dato fede <i>omitted</i>	chi vuol chuditti sian e suo motti diede <i>(omitted)</i>
92				
93	tal che ciò richiede	89	tal, che non richiede	tal che non richiede
94	chi per via si ferma a ragionar dove agli altri viandanti sia il paso	90	chi va per via ristando con altrui dov'è e agli altri viandanti tiene il passo	chi va per via ristando con altrui dove all' altri viandanti tiene il passo
95	la dona quando il ma- ritto riquista e via più el, s'el non suona lutto	91	quando la moglie per la casa acquista ed e' se ne sta in oio ben pasciuto	quando la moglie il ma- rito laquista ede ve più senon suona lutto
97	lo riprendo che l'uomo ch'è pa- satti y quarant- otto	92	ne riprendo che quand'uno ha pas- sato i quarantotto	ne riprendo che quando uno a pas- sato quarantotto
98	dicie parole che	94	si mettan parole, che	si metta parola che
99	per persona maniera s'el none presta	95	per isconcia maniera e non ne acqueta	per sconcia maniera emone questa
100	chi fa ne bichier suppa o in di di digiun più volte il di come fanciul da popa	96	chi nel bichier zuppa e chi il di del digiun più volte, come l' cit- tol, che si spuppa	chi nel bichier fa suppa echi di del digiuno piu volte come l' citol che si spuppa
101	chon si fatto viso	97	con si fatto riso	con si fatto viso
102	chi se raleghra ov' alttri stia pian- giendo e per tristizia à do- loratto fiso	98	mostra allegrezza, ov' altri sta piagnendo	mostra allegrezza dove altri stapiagnendo
103	mostrando besti parlando e	99	dov'è letizia, sta tur- bato in viso ch' e' mostra bestia parlando, o	dove letisia sta turbato in viso che mostra bestia par- lando o
104	molto suo magior vacilando arafa	100	molti suoi maggior uccellando s'araffa	molti suoi magior uccellando saraffa
106	queste noie muta ch'è questa parte al vostro onor con- piuta No la mutar sta non vuol' ch' i me chrucci	101	queste cose muta al vostro onor questa parte è compinta non lo mutar, se non vuoi me ne crucci	queste cose muta al vostro honore questa parte è compiuta Nollo mutar senon vuoi mene crucci.



## GLOSSARY

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This Glossary includes words in the *Noie* which present points of special interest, or problems of meaning and usage; but not all the problems are solved. In the headings the words are given in the standard modern form, and no attempt is made here to discuss the orthography and the phonology of Pucci's text; but the quotations from the *Noie* follow the readings of A. In some cases variants from other manuscripts are added, as well as illustrative quotations from other works, and a few words are included which do not occur in the *Noie*. The numbers refer to verses (not *terzine*) of the *Noie*, unless otherwise stated.

**accendere** to kindle

72                    se n'è dimoltta brigha aciesa

**accoccare** to fit (*cocca*, "notch", of arrow on bow-string); to fasten (thread on *cocca*, "tip", of spindle); hence, to adjust, thrust, strike (a blow), play (a trick), annoy

119-20            una mostrando ne le sue parole,  
                      un'altra ad operar nel chore achocha

*Accoccarla a uno*, "to play a trick on one"; as in the proverb (Giusti, *Raccolta di proverbi toscani*, p. 3; quoted in several dictionaries): Tal ti ride in bocca che dietro te l'accocca. Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, XXI.102: Si, fa che glielgle accocchi (Scartazzini, Leipzig ed., defines as *far danno o dispiacere a uno*).

**addolorare**, see **dolorare**

**affetapane** bread-knife (this word is not found, but the verb *affettare* is defined by Tommaseo-Bellini as *taliare in fette checchessia*, *ma più propriamente dicesi di pane e di salumi*)

223                chi chon l'afetapane bruttura taglia

(*DM* chi col coltello affetta pane; *J* chi cum coltel da pane)

**aggradare** to please

terz. 65a                                non mi agrada

Cf. *Centiloquio* XXXIV, terz. 84: Perchè a niuno andare a piede aggrada

Giacomo da Lentino, canz. *La 'namoranza disiosa*, v. 34: chi vede ciò che più gli agrata (ed. Langley, p. 12).

Cf. *Noie*, 127: è a pochi a ghrado

**agrum** *acid or pungent herbs, bitter or sour fruits*

185            chi mangia aghrume e poi tra le persone

(*F* agrumi, *H* agli, *O* agli o agrumi)

Cf. Dante, *Par.* XVII.117: A molti fia sapor di forte agrume

**ammonticchiare**, *see monicchiare*

**appiccare** to attach, to stick, to hang up

270 *see fiasco*; terz. 62a *see fiore*

**approdare** to approach, to come up

186            tra le persone a ragionar... aproda (*BD* saproda)

**arme** weapon (it is perhaps not superfluous to remind English-speaking readers that *arme* never means the same as *braccio*, in spite of the variants given below)

257-58            over che prenda

l'arm al chonpagno se gli à nemistade

(*T* larmadura; *G* le braccia al chollo; *MV* la bracciaiuola)

**arraffare** (*arraffiare*) to snatch, to grapple, to hook (*strappare con raffio*, *arroneigliare*)

310-12            A noia m'è chi sofera che stafa  
                         gli sia da molto suo maggior tenuta,  
                         che spesse volte vacilando arafa.

(*B* uzelando saraffa, *DF* uccellando saraffa)

**asimare** to pant (*affannarsi*, *sfiatarsi*; from *asma*, "asthma")

216 *A* che di tal mostra l'asina (*C* mostrasina), *rhyming with*  
spasima: biasima (*BFL* che di tal mostra asima; *D* che quelle  
chellazima; *Poesie di A. P.* che quelle per cui asima, *see Vol.*  
*IV*, p. xiii; *M* chome seffosse mostrato unasima)

**assiso** (participle of *assidersi*, "to sit", or *assedere*, "to seat")

304            sì chome matto asiso ("confirmed lunatic" ?)

**avviluppare** to envelop, to entangle, to confuse

296            chi a la ciela bichieri avilupa

Cf. 60 invilupatto

**bagascione** lover (*drudo*, *batillo*; from *bagascia*, *donna di cattivi costumi*, cf. Fr. *bagasse*, Prov. *bagassa*, Eng. *baggage*)

239-40            ch'a ciela tropo la ttrecha ghuadagni  
                         pel baghascion che ttal utile aspetà

Cf. Pucci, *Contrasto delle donne*, xliii (D'Ancona, *Saggi di letteratura popolare*, p. 361):

Fe' con Egisto, prete bagascione,  
Sì ch'ella fu di sua morte maestra



**beccare** to peck, eat, strike (with beak, *becco*); properly of birds, by extension of persons: to eat, to obtain (by cunning), to interfere in: cf. the expressions: *dar di becco in una cosa*; *mutiere il becco in un affare*.

50                *chi... becha quisttion ch'a lui non aparttegna*

(*E zerecha, y piglia, ecc.*)

**briga** trouble

72                *se n'è dimoltta brigha aciesa*

**brigata** company

220              *che messer di brighatta*

Cf. anonymous sonnet (possibly by Pucci) quoted above, p. LXXXIX, in which the word occurs three times, apparently addressed to a company of friends

**broda** broth, thin soup (from *brodo*, "meat soup")

181-82                *chi è sì mal nodritto  
                              ch'a ttavola usi di bersi la broda*

**buccio** (or more commonly *buccia*) skin, bark, rind, crust

24                *che ronper si voria di bucio in bucio*

(*B di bucio in bucio, N abbuccio abbuccio, Q che tenga del muccio, E din oso in oso*), apparently meaning "in pieces," "from one side to the other"

Pucci, *Centiloquio*, LIX, terz. 86 (*Poesie di A. P.* III, p. 163, cf. p. xxx):

Soldati Fiorentin, non senza cruccio  
N'ucciser dieci, e gli altri là levaro;  
Ma pur lasciar, com'è detto, del buccio

Cf. *Centiloquio*, XXXIV, terz. 92: LX, 28: LXXI, 77: LXXXIII, 47; and LXXVI, 12 (cf. *Poesie di A. P.* IV, p. xvii):

Di che ancora dell'ira mi dibuccio

Dante, *Purg.* XXIII. 25: così a buccia strema... secco

**celato, celata** participle of *celare*, "to conceal", used as noun or adverb.

224                *cielatto o palese, "secretly or openly"*

218                *ragionando a la cielatta, "confidentially, secretly"*

Cf. Monaci, *Crestomazia*, p. 71, canzone ascribed to Re Giovanni (died 1237): quella c'amo più 'n cielato; p. 195: per suocelato; p. 292: in sì fina cellata (i. e., luogo nascosto)

**cella** cell, wine-cellar; formerly equivalent to *taverna*

230                *ch'a ciela tropo la ttrecha ghuadagni*

296                *chi a la ciela bichieri avilupa*

263                *x a cella o manifesto, y a cella o in (per) istrada, A in luogho disonesto*

*Centiloquio*, LXXV, terz. 4 : stare per gli alberghi e per le celle; sonnet *Molto mi spiace e credo che dispiaccia*, p. LXXXVI, above: torre a la ciela (Ferri, p. 200)

**cena** dinner

127 ch'a ciena o a disinare... si vada a mensa

R. Davidsohn, *Firenze ai tempi di Dante*, Firenze, 1929, p. 591, says that ordinary families in Florence had two meals a day, *desinare* (cf. *sciolvere*) about 9 a. m., and *cena* after sunset; if a third meal was taken between these two, it was called *merenda*. On the other hand, *pranzo* was an exceptional meal, which came in the middle of the afternoon

**chiarire** to clean, wash; more commonly, to shine or to enlighten

128-29 senza chiarir le man si vada a mensa  
o di fuor mangi senz'alchun lavare

(128 *DHKLMOQRS* senza lavare le man); 129 *L* senza man schiarare)

**cittolo** child, baby (diminutive of *citto*; obsolete)

300 *BD* chome 'l citol che ssi spupa, *ACF* come fanciul da popa

**danza** frequently used in a general sense for any sort of affair, as well as figuratively (e. g., Ferri, p. 209).

98-99 chi...quando è saluttatto non risponde,  
per ch'el si tturba chi muove la danza

Cf. *Centiloquio*, XIV, terz. 22; XLV, 84; LXVII, 70; LXXXIV, 55; *Guerra Pisana*, II, st. 17; V, st. 24

**desinare**, see *cena*, *sciolvere*

**dimolto** (or *di molto*) Tuscan form for *molto*

72 che già se n'è dimoltta brigha aciesa

**dolorare** (addolorare) to grieve (*cagionar dolore*, *sentir dolore*)

305-06 ov'altri stia piangiendo  
e per ttristizia à doloratto fiso

(*B* o vegia alchuno adolorato volto, *C* per altro ch'è adolorato molto, *D* sta turbato nel viso). The sense of *A* is not clear, unless fiso has the meaning of viso, with which in 302 it rhymes

**fiasco** fiasco, long-necked round-bodied bottle covered with woven basketry; *far fiasco* "to make a failure"

270 perchè talor s'apichan di ma' fiaschi (*A* fiachi)

*Attaccare* (*appiccare*) il *fiasco* means to put up a fiasco over the door of a wine-shop as a sign; Tommaseo-Bellinigiives *appiccare il fiasco* and *appiccar sonagli* also as "to spread gossip or scandal" about a person (*spargere fama*, *infamare*). Cf. *Pataffio*, the burlesque poem in terza rima formerly attributed to Brunetto Latini but more in the style of Burchiello or Berni: Egli t'appiccò il fiasco il ciabattiere (edition entitled *Messer Brunetto Latini*, Napoli, 1788, p. 13). See also Varchi, *L'Ercolano*, Milano, Classici Italiani, 1804, I, p. 127: ...dire astutamente alcun motto

contra chicchessia per toglì credito, e riputazione, e dargli biasimo, e mala voce, il che si dice ancora appiccar sonagli... In regard to the implications of this *terzina* as a whole, cf. Davidsohn, *Firenze ai tempi di Dante*, p. 644; Nella maggior parte delle famiglie più agiate la convivenza raccolta ed intima veniva resa difficile se non impossibile, oltre che dalle lunghe assenze dei mariti e genitori, pure dal fatto che le coppie spesso vivevano in casa dei suoceri, e che i fratelli con moglie e figli coabitavano di frequente nella stessa casa.

**fico fig**

198 di bere o di mangiar valer d'un fico

Pucci uses various reinforced negatives and expressions meaning "at all," "in the least," "the least bit"; cf. *fiore*. He uses *fico* in this way in two sonnets: *Mollo mi piace...*, Ferri, p. 128, and *Quando se' alto...*, Ferri, p. 136; cf. English: "I don't care a fig."

**fiore** anything at all, nothing at all

62a non rimanga fiore

Cf. Dante, *Inf.* XXV. 144; XXXIV. 26; *Purg.* III. 35; Guittone d'Arezzo, 1828 ed., I, p. 62: E tutto bon, male non fiore; *ib.*, II, p. 78: non m'han valuto fiore

**fiso**

306 per tristizia à doloratto fiso

(*B* adolorato volto, *D* sta turbato nel viso; in *AD* the rhyme-word in 302 is viso); see **dolorare**

45 ttener la mentte fisa

**gagliardo** valiant, robust, manly

80-81 per eser tenuto più ghagliardo  
inchontro a Dio parla...

**gambettare** to kick the legs about, to toddle (*dimenar le gambe*); (dare il gambetto a uno: mettere una gamba propria fra quelle di lui per farlo cadere, scavalcare uno)

307 chi ghanbetta sedendo

Cf. 148 chi le ghanbe inchrocichia

**imbandigione** food prepared for serving at table, dish of food

158 (*y-F*) alcuna inbandigione

Cf. *GSLI*, XIX, pp. 58, 75; Francesco da Barberino, *Reggimento*, in D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale*, I, p. 274; *Bel Gherardino*, I, 21, in E. Levi, *Fiore di Leggende*, p. 10.

**ingrossare** to make or become big; **ingrossare la voce** to make the voice rough or loud

69 per pichola ofesa inghrosa sì che...

**Inselmento**, see **scimunito**

**landita**

136 A noia m'è per persona landitta

(*CDEFH* etc. omit per; *BCDEFJKLPTV* persona dilandita, *G* sgradita, *H* si ingradita, *I* gradita, *M* sbandita, *R* isciemunita; *Poesie* di A. P. persona di bandita, an arbitrary change). The meaning of *landita* or *dilandita* is not clear, and the entire *terzina* varies in the mss. to an unusual degree (see variants with text)

**liuto** lute; **suonare il liuto** to play the game, to come up to the mark  
285                      s'el non suona liutto

**manganello**, see Appendix, — 2.

**mangiare**, **manicare**, **manueare** to eat

142                      manichando

159                      chon li cuchiai vi si manucha in tresca

(*BC* manuchi, *DE* mangi, *J* manduchi)

Elsewhere *A* uses forms derived from *mangiare*: 125, 129, 132, 140, 154, 177, 178, 185, 196, 198, 299

**maniera** (*noun*) manner, style, kind, way

38 (*in G* only) sendo dimandato... limosina per dio a piu maniere

**maniere**, **maniero** (*adjective*) clever, skilful, affected, tractable, affable, tame, docile, well-trained

244                      chi è tropo maniere a lo scherçiar

(*CIU* maniero, *FGO* manieri)

295 *A* noia m'è per persona maniera (*B* isconcia mainera, *CF* per isconcia manera, *D* per sconcia maniera, other mss. omit; note that in *A* maniera is an adjective, as in verse 244, while in *BCDF* the word is a noun)

This adjective is used elsewhere by Pucci; *Centiloquio* XXVIII, *terz.* 87: E seguitar lo stormo aspro e maniere; XXXIII, *terz.* 25: quando il passaggio Incontro a' Saracin fosse maniere (in *Poesie* di A. P. II, pp. xxxi, 102, 110, the editor says that the word is properly applied to men and to falcons, and that the passage just quoted is the only case where it is applied to an action, the meaning there being *opportuno*, *comodo*, *acconcio*); *Bruto di Bretagna*, stanza 5: Appresso quell'uccel, ch'è sì maniere (Ezio Levi, *Fiore di Leggende*, p. 202; cf. *Gibello* I, 12, *ibid.*, p. 148). The Italian translation of Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*, in the chapter "Dell'Astore" (lib. V, cap. ix, corresponding to book I, part v, chap. 148 of the French text in the edition of Chabaille, 1863) uses both the noun *maniera*, "sort, kind, manner, way, type," and the adjective *maniero*, following in each case the French original. We quote from the edition of Guido Battelli: Brunetto Latini, *I Libri naturali del "Tesoro"*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1917, pp. 96-99 (in Gaiter's edition, Bologna, 1878, Vol. II), adding part of the French text: E sappiate che astori sono di tre maniere, grandi e mezzani e piccolì (Ostour sont de III manieres). Li minori sono a guisa di terzuolo, ed è prode e maniero, e bene volenteroso di beccare, ed è leggiere da uccellare (le petiz est maindres des autres, à loi de tercel, et est preuz et maniers et tost volanz). Lo mezzano ha ale rossette



...Questi sono molto duri a farli manieri (li meeni ont eles rouges... et sont trop dur à faire *domestiches*). Lo grande astore è maggiore che gli altri, e più grosso e più maniero, e migliore (li grans ostours est graindres des autres et plus gros et plus maniers et miendres)

**matto** mad

79 chiunque è ttanto matto

(*FH* folle e matto, *I* stolto e matto)

304 matto asiso, *see* **assiso**

**melenso** (old form, **milenso**) stupid, dull; but here rather with the sense of "ill-mannered" or "slovenly"

130-32 A noia m'è per persona melensa  
chi non se forbe la bocha e la mano,  
volendo bere, ma solo a mangiar pensa

(*D* persona misleansa (*Poesie di A. P.* sì milensa), *HJRSV* milensa)

Cf. verses 7-8 in sonnet *Tutti sappian che ciascun è mortale* (Ferri, p. 146; from Cod. Magl. VII. 1145, f. 85v):

Po' si confessa sì come i milensi  
Che non san se dicono bene o male

**menare** in sense of *dimenare* (?; meaning of this *terzina* is obscure)

187-89 A noia m'è chi 'n su la mensa pone  
la ttovaglia a rivescio e più di nove  
s'ela si mena serve del bastone

*So ACD* (*Poesie di A. P.* più di dove ella si mena, e serve; *B* s'ela e femina; *other mss. omit*)

**mercenaio** mercenary (soldier, official, etc., usually depreciatory)

56 a mercenaio che sia ben adobatto

**mescere** to pour (beverages into glass—the modern meaning; cf. the older meaning, "to mix")

200 il vin di mano a cholui che gl' il mescie

Cf. Dante, *Par.* XVII. 12: A dir la sete, sì che l'uom ti mesca

**moncicchiare** to pile up, to put on top (*ammontare*, *ammonticare*, *ammontichiare*, *ammonzicchiare* are all equivalent to *ammassare*)

150 che gli suo pie sovra gli altrui moncichia

(*BC* monzichia, *D* monsicchia, *FHNRTV* amonzichia, *GKOU* amonticchia, *P* amonsicchia)

**morsicchiare** (diminutive of *mordere*, like *morsicare*, *morsecchiare*) to nibble, to bite

134 che 'l morsichiatto bochon chole dita  
ne la schodela torni... (*B* morsigato, *N* masticato)

In the sonnet *Molto mi spiace* (see p. LXXXVI, above; Ferri, p. 200) verse 12 reads:

Ma pur s'alcun per diletto morsella,

the last word being explained in *Poesie* IV, p. xxiii, as equivalent to *morsica* or *morsecchia*  
**motteggiare** to jest, to make jokes about  
 31 chi col fratte mottegia  
 106-07 chi una dona schorgie  
 e va la motteggiando per la via

**palese** used as adverb: openly

224 cielatto o palese  
 299 chi... mangia palese

Cf. Dante, *Par.* XXX. 143: palese e covertò Non anderà  
**paltoniere** beggar, vagabond (from *paltone*, cf. Old Fr. *paltonier*);  
 a different word from **poltroniere** (from *polltro*, *poltrone*), lazy  
 fellow, sluggard

176-77 s'apogia a mensa e co l'un bracio strigne,  
 co l'alttro mangia chome paltoniere (ACD)

(*B* paltronere, *EGHILQTU* poltronier (e, i, o), *M* poltoniere)

Cf. Sacchetti, sonnet: Non ti provar più in arme, o paltoniere  
 (*Raccolta di rime*, Palermo, 1817, IV, 183)

**pignatta** kettle (*pentola*)

terz. 73a (*ms. U*) chi soffia alla pignata

(probably with an obscene reference, as *pignata* is so used in  
*Il Manganello*, cap. V)

**pigolare** to peep (like a chicken or small bird), to importune

101 va pigholando perch'alttri li rechi

(*B* pilgliolando, *E* pizorando, *I* dimandando, *JS* piolando)

**poppa** breast

300 come fanciul da popa (*rhyming with* avilupa: supa)

(*BD* chomel citol chessi spupa (see **spoppare**), *C* fanciullo  
 acchui si to la poppa)

**porcile** pig-sty

183 sì chome porcho di porcile uscito

Cf. Dante, *Inf.* XXX. 17:

Che 'l porco quando del porcil si schiude

**pratese** of Prato (see pp. LXXXI, CXLVII).

228 questa è invittata pratese

**resia** popular form for **eresia**, heresy; formerly used also for discord,  
 dissension

111 chi ode vilania... e po' raporta... simenando resia

(*BJ* rixia, *E* rexia, *KU* heresia)

Cf. sonnet by Manetto di Filicaia (sec. XIV) edited by Ezio  
 Levi, *Botteghe e canzoni della vecchia Firenze*, Bologna, Zani-  
 chelli, 1928, p. 29, ending as follows:

Ella par capo della Ipocresia,  
santa di fuori e dentro non è buona,  
ed è seminator di gran resia

*Sonetti del Burchiello*, Londra, 1757, p. 169, son. *Nel mezzo...*

E vidi le lumache in gran resia  
Perchè erano assediate dalle lucciole

Francesco da Barberino uses the expression *seminare discordia* (Lat. *seminare discordiam*) in *Documenti d'Amore*, ed. Soc. Fil. Rom., I, p. 150

**rimbrotto** reproof, scolding (cf. *rimbrottare*, *rimbrontolare*)

294            mattera... di chrucio e di rinbrotto

**rimpaffare**

308            e negli alttrui difetti si rinpafa

*Poesie di A. P.*, IV, p. xxv : Rimpaffare, forse per ringrassare  
**ripicchiare** to knock (or possibly in sense of *ripigliare*?)

146            chi sucia l'oso e più volte il ripichia  
in sul taglieri... (*D* ripiglia)

**riso**, plural **risa** laughter (Petrocchi also gives *risa* as a feminine singular, equivalent to *risata*)

41            più per risa ch'a riverenza

**ruzzare** to play, to engage in horse-play (*scherzare fanciullescamente e anche stuzzicando; fare un chiasso vivace, saltando, scherzando*); **ruzzo** also means *voglia amorosa*. Cf. **flasco**

268-69        chi femine co maschi  
ruzin sott'onbra d'alchun parentado

**santo church** 23, 25 (variants)

**scherzare** to jest, to play

244-45        chi è tropo maniere  
a lo scherçar di man vota o di piena

**schiena** back

248-49        di chi l'à fata  
diciendo va che gli à morsa la schiena

**scignere** to ungird; **scignersi** to loosen one's belt

178 A noia m'è chi mangiando si scingne (*R* chi a mensa si scignie, *L* se decinge)

**scimunito** foolish, silly, imbecile (*sciocco*, *scemo*)

235 A noia m'è sì chome inscimenito (*B* iscimunito, *C* sciemunito; other mss. omit)

**sciolvere** breakfast (*desinare*, *colazione*)

*Centiloquio* LXXXIV, terz. 54: Mandando loro disinare, e sciolvere; Sonnet *Molto mi spiace*, p. LXXXVI, above: Quando son molti a sciolvere o merenda. Cf. **cena**.

**scoccare** to shoot, shoot off, let fly (literally, the *cocca* from the bow); **scoccarsi**, to burst out (cf. **accoccare**)

221-22           condanagion tantto vilane  
                    ch'alchun si schochi...

(*BC* e qual si scocha, *D* s'alcun si cruccia,  
*other mss.* s'adiri, si scherni, se turbi, si scorni)

Cf. sonnet (Ferri, p. 143, from Cod. Magl. VII. 1145, f. 77r):

Tace la lingua e parlo colla mente,  
Penso e ripenso e di fuor non iscocca...

Cf. also *Il Manganello*. XII, verses 61-63, quoted in Appendix.  
**scodella** dish

135, 152, 158

**scornare** to deprive of horns, to shame; **scornarsi** to be ashamed

160           A noia tanto m'è ch'i' me ne schorno

**seminare** to scatter, spread, sow; *see resia*

**soffiare** to blow

169           chi sofia nel bochone

terz. 73a (*ms. U*) chi soffia alla pignata

Cf. Giovanni della Casa, *Il Galateo*, ed. Scoti-Bertinelli, XXIX,  
p. 148: ...chi s'affretta sì che convenga che egli ansi o soffi con  
noia di tutta la brigata

**sogliere, sciogliere**

201           e verun no lo scioglie

(*so in CDGIKMNV*; *FHOT* scogle; *ABJ* soglie, *L* disoglie)

**spasimare** to be uneasy, to suffer, to have spasms

212           se del conpangno non chura che spasima

(*CGI* spasma)

**spoppare** to wean, to be weaned (*cessare di allattare*, from *poppa*)

300 *BD* chome 'l citol che ssi spupa (*ACF* come fanciul da popa)

**strignere** to bind, to grasp, to press

176           s'apogia a mensa e co l'un bracio strigne

**suppa** sop; bread or toast dipped in wine or other liquid

298           chi fa ne' bichier supa

(*CF* zuppa)

**svitare** to take back an invitation

230-31       chi 'nvitta altrui... ed e' lo svitta

**tagliere, taglieri** trencher, platter

147           in sul taglieri

173           sul tagliere

**tecomeco** mischief-maker (Petrocchi: mettimale, chi mormora delle



persone dietro le spalle e semina zizzania perchè nascan discor-  
die, liti)

103-04           A noia m'è chi è di ttechomechi,  
                    ch'a me di tte e a tte di me mal porgie

(*IKNOQ* di questi techimechi)

**tovaglia** table-cloth

188           chi 'n su la mensa pone la ttovaglia a rivescio

**trastullatore** entertainer (from *trastullare*)

260           quando giugne tra lor trastullatore

(*GIMTV* chantatore, *HJKN* dicitore)

**tratto** from time to time (*di tratto in tratto*)

81           inchontro a Dio sparla tratto tratto

(*BDEFI* a ogni tratto, *J* spesso tratto, *O* al primo tratto)

**trecca** *market-woman*, an obsolete Tuscan word

289           ch'a ciela tropo la ttrecha guadagni  
                    pel baghascion

Pucci uses the word several times in *Le Proprietà di Mercato Vecchio* (Volpi, *Rime di Trecentisti minori*, 89-95; Ferri, 229-34; *Poesie di A. P.*, IV, 267-74; cf. Vittorio Rossi, *Scritti di Critica Letteraria*, Firenze, 1930, II, p. 235); these verses may throw light on the above passage:

Sempre di più ragion si stanno trecche:  
Diciam prima di quelle delle frutte,  
Che tutto di per due castagne secche  
Garrono insieme, chiamandosi putte...  
Appresso a queste son le trecche accorte,  
Che vendon camangiare e senapina  
E d'ogni ragion erba, dolce e forte...  
Gentili uomini e donne v'ha da lato,  
Che spesso veggion venire alle mani  
Le trecche e' barattier ch'hanno giucato...  
Appresso vi si fe' nel mezzo un pozzo,  
Che le trecche potessor rinfrescare  
Le cose loro e tal fiata il gozzo;  
Non perch' elle non possin comperare  
Del vino e d'altro, come lor disia,  
Ma pe' mariti voglion risparmiare.  
E ha tra loro una monna Maria  
Che sa sì far con sua piacevolezza,  
Che d'ogni denaio sei fa tuttavia.

**tresca** dance (ballo rozzo e sciamannato, ballo accompagnato da mimica)

159           chon li chuchiai vi si manucha in tresca

(*H* a tresca, *R* e tresca)

Cf. Dante, *Inf.* XIV. 40:

Sanza riposo mai era la tresca  
de le misere mani, or quindi or quinci

**utile** (*noun*) profit

240            pel baghascion che ttal uttile aspeta

**valere**

198            di bere o di mangiar valer d'un ficho

(*INV* che vaglia un ficho)

**vena** vein; **di vena** willingly, readily

247            se chorttesia di vena alchun ricieve

**vista** sight; **far la vista** to pretend, to give the impression

288            ed el vuol far la vista

**zoccolo**, see "Additions to the Text," — 2.

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## APPENDIX

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### 1. — PUCCI'S SONNET ON THE PORTRAIT OF DANTE BY GIOTTO

The sonnet on the portrait of Dante reads as follows (the only change being the separation of words) in the only manuscript known to contain it, Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, f. 83r:

Questi che ueste di color sanguignio  
posto seguente alle merite sante  
dipinse giotto in figura di dante  
che di parole fe sì bell ordignio  
E come par nell abito benignio  
così nel mondo fu con tutte quante  
quelle uirtù e onoran chi davante  
le porta con effetto nello scrignio  
Diritto paragon fu di sentenze  
col braccio manco auinchia la scrittura  
p che signioreggio molte scienze  
E l suo parlar fu con tanta misura  
che ncorono la città di firenze  
di pregio ond ancor fama le dura  
Perfetto di fatte e qui dipinto  
com a sua uita fu di carne cinto

The text was first published by Alessandro D'Ancona, *In Lode di Dante, capitolo e sonetto di Antonio Pucci, poeta del secolo decimoquarto*, Pisa, Nistri, 1868 (per nozze Bongi-Ranalli), p. 16, with the following changes of reading (in addition to punctuation, capitalization, and solving of the abbreviation of *perchè* in verse 11): 1 Questo ... sanguigno — 4 ordigno — 5 benigno — 7 ch'onoran — 8 affetto... scrigno — 11 signoreggiò — 14 onde ancor — 15 fattezze (this last emendation is undoubtedly correct). It was reprinted by

G. Papanti, *Dante secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*, Livorno, 1873; V. Imbriani, *Illustrazioni al capitolo dantesco del Centiloquio*, Napoli, 1880, pp. 26-34; Carlo Del Balzo, *Poesie di mille autori intorno a Dante Alighieri*, vol. II, Roma, 1890, pp. 198-218 (with German translation by K. Witte, also passages from *Centiloquio* and *Guerra Pisana* in which Dante is mentioned); I. B. Supino in *Strenna Dantesca*, I (1902), pp. 51-55 (reproduces the portrait with the sonnet, and says that the portrait is "certamente di Giotto"); D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, Firenze, 1903, I, p. 553 (and in later editions; not in original edition, 1892); A. D'Ancona, *Scritti Danteschi*, Firenze, Sansoni, (1912), p. 541; R. T. Holbrook, *Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raffael*, London, Warner, and Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1911, p. 136 (with translation); <sup>1</sup> Supino, *Giotto*, Firenze, 1920, p. 235; it was reprinted from the manuscript by G. Volpi, *Rime di Trecentisti minori*, Firenze, 1907, p. 105 (with modernized spelling as in D'Ancona, but correcting the first word to "Questi"), and from Volpi by Ferri, p. 203 (1909). There are doubtless other reprints.

The portrait here described is certainly the one which still exists in sadly mutilated condition on the wall of the chapel in the Bargello; it suggests many fascinating lines of investigation, but concerns us here only because of Antonio Pucci and Seymour Kirkup. While there has been much discussion as to whether it was painted by Giotto, apparently no one — not even the systematically skeptical Imbriani — has questioned that the sonnet was written by Pucci. In the manuscript the sonnet has no heading; it bears the number 124, and occurs in a series of seventy sonnets, ff. 71r-91r, all ascribed to Antonio Pucci by a rubric at the bottom of f. 70v (see above, "Additions to the text", p. 33); they bear numbers 82-151, and are preceded by a similar group of sonnets

1. Holbrook is mistaken in stating that the sonnet was printed from the Kirkup ms., which as a matter of fact contains no sonnets.



ascribed to Burchiello. *Questi che veste* is preceded on the same page by the last six verses of *Quando 'l fanciul da piccolo scioccheggia* (already discussed; Volpi, p. 108, from this manuscript; Ferri, p. 203 ; *GSLI*, I, 238), and followed by the first five verses of No. 125, *Dimmi maestro qual è quel ferucolo* (published from a different manuscript in *Sonetti del Burchiello*, Londra, 1757, p. 222; it may well be by him). Of the seventy sonnets in the Pucci group, some thirty are unique in this manuscript; some are still unpublished; Ferri published 53 of the 70 (including 32 previously unpublished). Now some of the sonnets in the group are certainly, and others quite possibly, not by Pucci; those which also occur in other manuscripts are variously ascribed — for instance, *Il giovane che vuol avere onore* (see "Additions to the text" — 3). Nevertheless, in many cases the attribution to Pucci is certainly correct, and for those which are unique in this manuscript we have of course no other authority; a thorough study of the manuscript is urgently needed, but in the meantime we are justified in accepting its authority without question in the case of the sonnet on Dante. Pucci's enthusiasm for Dante is well known, and this sonnet is just such a one as he might be expected to write. He must have known many persons, perhaps including Giotto himself, who had seen Dante in Florence before his exile and who could testify that the portrait faithfully represented his appearance as a young man.

It is impossible to believe that during the tumultuous years immediately preceding Dante's exile in 1302 his portrait figured in a fresco decorating the chapel of Santa Maria Maddalena in the Palazzo del Podestà, although this theory was accepted by Cavalcaselle and others; but there is no difficulty in supposing that Giotto had made a sketch of the young poet and after his death used it as the model for one of the figures in the fresco. In 1322 money was appropriated for the decoration of the chapel, and Giotto was in Florence during that year and at intervals thereafter. In his monu-

mental work on Giotto,<sup>1</sup> Supino argues that the existing frescos, including Dante's portrait, were painted then. It is generally believed, however, that they date from 1334 and following years. For one thing, the year after Dante's death seems rather early for the prejudice against him in Florence to have been overcome. In 1334 Giotto was appointed consulting architect to the city; on January 8, 1337 (modern style; 1336, Florentine style) he died. Pucci's mention of his death is one of the proofs that he was born in 1267 (not 1276, as Vasari states); in the *Centiloquio*, LXXXV, terz. 83-85, under the year 1334, Pucci says :

Nell'anno, a' dì dicennove di Luglio,  
Della Chiesa maggiore il Campanile  
Fondato fu, rompendo ogni cespuglio,  
Per Mastro Giotto, dipintor sottile,  
Il qual condusse tanto il lavorio,  
Che' primi intagli fe con bello stile.  
Nel trentasei, siccome piacque a Dio,  
Giotto morì d'età di settant' anni,  
E'n quella Chiesa poi si soppellio.

The Palazzo del Podestà was damaged by fire in 1332, but Supino maintains that the chapel was not burned, that the frescos were already there and were preserved, and that Giotto's duties concerned the restoration of other parts of the building. Other critics believe that whether or not the chapel suffered in the fire, its decoration would more naturally have been undertaken when the whole building was repaired. The frescos cover all four walls of the chapel, and no more than a small part could have been executed by Giotto himself; it is known that they were not finished until after his death. On the whole, it is highly probable that during the last months of his life Giotto painted the portrait of Dante and two or three other portraits, all of which figure in the fresco of the Last Judgment, as described by Vasari.

1. *Giotto*, Firenze, Istituto di Edizioni Artistiche, 1920, pp. 15, 236, 318.

In this connection the sonnet by Pucci has long been recognized as an important piece of evidence. As to date, it gives the impression of having been written at the time when the portrait was actually being painted, or at least while it was still noteworthy as a novelty. In 1322 Pucci would have been unlikely to be interested in it. About 1334, however, he became town crier, and would have frequent occasion to visit the Palazzo del Podestà; he was then twenty-five or more years of age, and if he noticed the work in progress or just finished, true to his instinct for actuality, he would have been likely to put his impressions in rhyme immediately. In 1333,<sup>1</sup> for instance, he had written his serventese about the flood of the Arno. It seems far less probable that he wrote the sonnet years later than the painting of the portrait.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the authenticity of the fresco as a portrait of Dante painted by Giotto, and mentioned as such by Filippo Villani, Vasari, and others<sup>2</sup>, the evidence of Pucci's sonnet seems conclusive. Critics who deny the authenticity invariably ignore the sonnet, except Imbriani, who maintains that Pucci did not know what he was talking about.<sup>3</sup> Vasari saw the frescos about 1560; in 1574 the Palazzo del Podestà became the headquarters of the Bargello and was partly remodeled. The chapel was divided horizontally by flooring, and its walls were whitewashed. In the early nineteenth century several persons referred to the frescos hidden under the whitewash; and finally in 1839, through the initiative of

1. Cf. Holbrook, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-37.

2. C. Landino, in his *Life of Dante* published with his edition of the *Divina Commedia* from 1481 on, says: "La effigie resta ancora di mano di Giotto in Santa Croce, e nella Capella del Podestà." The portrait in Santa Croce no longer exists. In 1312, Ricuccio Pucci gave money to keep a lamp burning before a crucifix painted by Giotto; see Milanese's edition of Vasari (1878), I, 394, and Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

3. *Illustrazioni di Vittorio Imbriani al capitolo dantesco del Centiloquio*, Napoli, 1880, pp. 26-34. Imbriani denies that the portrait is of Dante or by Giotto.

Kirkup, Bezzi and Wilde, the removal of the whitewash was undertaken by Antonio Marini. On July 21, 1840, the portrait of Dante came to light, the face being unfortunately mutilated by extraction of a nail; Marini was commissioned to repair the damage (probably caused by his own carelessness), and incidentally he repainted the entire figure, and completely altered the coloring and to some extent the drawing. Fortunately, before this disastrous restoration, Kirkup was able to make a tracing and a colored sketch of the figure of Dante, damaged as it was, but authentic. The accuracy of the drawing is shown by a similar one made independently by Perseo Faltoni.<sup>1</sup> From a copy of Kirkup's drawing was made in 1859 the well-known Arundel print (which gives the date of discovery wrongly as 1841). For some time the portrait seems not to have been questioned; but in connection with the Dante anniversary in 1865 an official report denying its authenticity was issued by G. Milanese and L. Passerini, and violent discussion ensued. In 1868 D'Ancona published Pucci's sonnet "come argomento di qualche peso nella controversia, testè agitatasi, circa il vero autore di quella effigie di Dante"; and G. Sforza (*Propugnatore*, I, 374), reviewing D'Ancona, says that the sonnet "torna di grande importanza imperocchè mostra chiaro essere la effigie di Dante, che si vede a Firenze nel Palagio dei Podestà, opera di Giotto, cosa fino a qui controversa." Holbrook (*op. cit.*, p. 135) calls Pucci "the most important witness for Giotto," and E. G. Parodi (*Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, XIX [1912] p. 98), in a long review of Holbrook, agrees in this opinion: "E veramente il dubitarne è un perdere di tempo, quando si ha il sonetto del Pucci..." Supino, an authority on Giotto, and G. L. Passerini, in his *Il Ritratto di Dante*, (1921), coincide; and the whole matter is summed up with supreme common sense by Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., *The Portraits*

1. The drawings of Kirkup and Faltoni have been reproduced several times; see Holbrook, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-104, 143-44, etc.; G. L. Passerini, *Il Ritratto di Dante*, Firenze, Alinari, 1921.



of Dante (Princeton University Press, 1921, pp. 6-12): "Our firm witness to Giotto's authorship of the Dante in the Bargello is the town crier and poetaster Antonio Pucci, who was about Florence when the portrait was painted [between 1334 and 1337]. A general disposition to doubt so good a contemporary record is merely an inheritance of the queasiness that Milanese and his generation introduced into the criticism of Italian painting." Moreover, Professor Mather continues, not only have we the best contemporary evidence for believing the portrait to represent Dante and to be by Giotto, but the admirable style of this and the accompanying portraits in the great fresco is beyond the capacity of any other known Florentine artist of the time. Comparing the portrait with the reconstruction of Dante's skull, Professor Mather finds it to match so closely that it may be assumed to have been based on an early sketch from life. All of which perhaps sufficiently vindicates the accuracy of Antonio Pucci.<sup>1</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the recovery of the portrait in 1840 are still obscure, and the statements made by the participants and their partisans are conflicting.<sup>2</sup> Seymour Kirkup consistently claimed that he originated the idea of removing the whitewash, and secured the assistance

1. Nevertheless, some critics still hold with Milanese in this matter. Mr. Berenson is apparently not entirely convinced. E. G. Gardner, in *The Story of Florence*, London, Dent, 1900 (an excellent book in some respects, although it never mentions Pucci), p. 222, says: "In spite of a very pleasant fable, it is absolutely certain that this is not a contemporaneous portrait of Dante... and was not painted by Giotto." On the other hand, authorities like Cavalcaselle, F. X. Kraus, Carl Frey, and Adolfo Venturi accept the ascription. For further references, see Holbrook, Imbriani, etc., and A. D'Ancona, *Scritti Danteschi*, p. 541.

2. The whole affair is discussed, with abundant references, by Holbrook, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-150, with a note on Kirkup on pp. 208-11 (cf. article by Lionel Cust in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXI, p. 224); and by D'Ancona in two articles: "Il vero ritratto giottesco di Dante," in *Lettura*, I (1901), and "La maschera di Dante," Firenze, 1911, both reprinted with important additions in his *Scritti Danteschi*, Firenze, 1912, pp. 533-68.

of Giovanni Aubrey Bezzi and Richard Henry Wilde, both of whom however left Florence while the process of removal was going on and before the figure of Dante had come to light. D'Ancona, naturally friendly to Kirkup on account of the loan of the Pucci manuscript, is inclined to accept his account of the affair. Bezzi, however, declares that when *he* undertook the project, "It was Mr. Wylde and not Mr. Kirkup who first spoke to me of this buried treasure"; Kirkup, he says, took no active part in the matter at any time, but offered to share the expense of having the work done. Washington Irving published in the *Knickerbocker Magazine* for October, 1841, an account<sup>1</sup> agreeing substantially with that of Bezzi, and apparently based on information derived from Wilde; and Mr. Koch maintains that Wilde took the initiative, enlisted the aid of Bezzi, and was robbed of the credit due him for his part in the affair by Kirkup. It is obvious that all three worked together to some extent at least, Bezzi probably doing most of the negotiation that was necessary to secure the permission of the government, while Wilde and Kirkup furnished the funds — though the expense was in the end borne chiefly by the government. But whatever his share in the project and his attitude toward his collaborators, Kirkup deserves the undying gratitude of Dante-lovers, Giotto-lovers and Pucci-lovers for the skill with which (surreptitiously, it seems) he copied the portrait of Dante before it was repainted by Marini, and so preserved for all time its original aspect. Even in its repainted state, the fresco is apparently doomed to fade away till nothing of Giotto's work remains.<sup>2</sup>

A few words may be added here about Richard Henry Wilde. He was born in Dublin, September 24, 1789, and

1. Quoted by Theodore W. Koch, "Dante in America", in *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Dante Society*, Boston, 1896, in an account of R. H. Wilde, pp. 23-36.

2. In a note to the translation of Vasari's *Lives*, New York, Scribners, 1896, Vol. I, p. 50, E. H. Blashfield, speaking of the portrait of Dante "in the chapel of the palace of the Podestà in

came to America in 1797, living in Baltimore until the death of his father in 1802, and then moving with the remainder of the family to Augusta, Georgia. He studied law privately, and was admitted to the bar in 1809. He served several terms as a member of Congress, but was defeated for reelection in 1834, and in June, 1835, he sailed for Europe; he spent some three years in Florence, reading in the libraries and archives; in 1841 he returned to America and took up residence in New Orleans. He was afterwards appointed professor of law in the newly opened University of Louisiana (now Tulane University), and died soon after, September 10, 1847.<sup>1</sup> In 1842 he published in two volumes *Conjectures and Researches concerning the Love, Madness, and Imprisonment of Torquato Tasso*, New York, Blake, pp. 234, 270. Other fruits of his stay in Italy, *Life and Times of Dante* and *The Italian Lyric Poets*, have never been published, although in 1867 his son, William Cumming Wilde (afterwards the possessor of the Kirkup manuscript) tried to secure a publisher for them; the manuscripts are now in the Library of Congress. R. H. Wilde was at one time well known as the author of e melodious and pathetic lyric, beginning: "My life is like tha

Florence," says: "An American, Mr. Wylde, Signor Bazzi, and two Englishmen, Mr. Rich and the artist Seymour Kirkup, resolved in 1840 to search for the portrait, agreeing to pay all the expenses, whether the researches were successful or not. The first portion uncovered brought to light the portrait of Dante, which was immediately and barbarously restored by Marini," etc. The errors in this account are evident from the foregoing; the mythical "Mr. Rich" is perhaps a reminiscence of the first name of the misspelled "Mr. Wylde". Blashfield states that the balance of evidence is in favor of of Milanesi's theory that Giotto did not paint any of the frescos in the chapel.

1. This information is derived from R. W. Griswold, *The Poets and Poetry of America*, 10th ed., Philadelphia, 1850, p. 109 (a work of great vogue, first published in 1842, and reaching a 17th edition in 1856); from a pamphlet entitled *The Life, Literary Labors and neglected Grave of Richard Henry Wilde*, by Charles C. Jones, Jr., Augusta, Georgia, 1885; and from Koch, *op. cit.*

There are copies of these publications, as well as of the book on Tasso and the work by Barclay cited below, in the Princeton University Library.

Summer Rose," frequently printed after its composition in 1815 as part of a longer poem;<sup>1</sup> and in 1867 appeared *Hesperia, a poem by Richard Henry Wilde, edited by his son*, Boston, Ticknor and Fields, pp. viii, 333, the false title reading: "Hesperia, a fragment by the late Fitzhugh de Lancy, Esq." The son, as mentioned above in the description of ms. A, was William Cumming Wilde (1823-90), some time professor of ancient languages in the university of Louisiana, who visited Italy about the time when Kirkup's library was dispersed, and returned to New Orleans with the manuscript of Pucci's poems in his possession. It is hoped that these notes will correct some of the erroneous statements that have been made about the elder Wilde, and the various mistakes made in spelling the names of both father and son.

## 2. — IL MANGANELLO

The poem entitled *Il Manganello*, as stated in section 3 of the Introduction, presents in one of its capitoli a typical example of the *noie*-form, and shows therein definite influence of Pucci's *Noie*. Its satirical and scurrilous invective against women, while entirely out of harmony with Pucci's point of view, lends itself to this type of composition. The poem has been cited by more than one writer,<sup>2</sup> but it is nevertheless comparatively unknown; and an analysis, with special refer-

1. For the exceedingly curious and interesting history of this lyric, see Anthony Barclay, *Wilde's Summer Rose; or the Lament of the Captive. An authentic account of the origin, mystery and explanation of Hon. R. H. Wilde's alleged plagiarism*. Savannah, The Georgia Historical Society, 1871.

2. In 1865 Mussafia, in *Jahrbuch*, VI, p. 226, remarked: "Endlich erfahre ich durch freundliche Mittheilung, das alle Terzinen des XII. Capitels des — mir leider nicht zugänglichen — *Manganello* mit den Worten *Annoja a me* beginnen." The *Mittheilung* was, I suspect, from A. D'Ancona, who states in his *Poesia popolare italiana*, 2a ed., Livorno, 1906, p. 16, "Un poemetto del sec. xv, contro le donne, *il Manganello*, ha poi tutto un capitolo, il duodecimo, le cui terzine cominciano *A noja m'è*, come quelle del Pucci." See also Hill in *PMLA*, XXX, 61-63.



ence to its relation to Pucci's work, therefore seems justified in this connection.

The poem is in terza rima, divided into thirteen capitoli averaging a fraction over thirty-six *terzine* each. The total number of verses is 1447. It purports to be addressed to a person called Silvestro, advising him not to marry; the argument being supported by the authority of Juvenal and Boccaccio, and by numerous instances drawn from history, legend and contemporary scandal. It includes many strange words, sometimes obscure, but in some cases with a meaning which is only too evident; aside from such words, the language and the orthography of the early edition are standard Italian. The composition seems to date from the last part of the fifteenth century, in view of the fact that Antonio Cornazzano of Piacenza, who died about 1500,<sup>1</sup> wrote a reply to refute it; his *Riprensione*, also in terza rima, consists of five capitoli, according to C. Poggiali, *Memorie per la storia letteraria di Piacenza*, Piacenza, 1789, I, p. 112, who quotes from it seven *terzine*, and remarks:

"Un certo Mangano, o Manganello, o piuttosto un Inognito mascherato sotto quel nome, ad imitazione del Boccaccio avea scritto, e divulgato un Libro intitolato *il Corbazzo*, in cui diceva mal delle donne, e lodava quel vizio, che fa il maggior possibile oltraggio al bel Sesso. Prese il Cornazzano ad impugnar i deliri di costui,... nell'età sua avanzata..."

In 1852, G. Melzi, *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime*, Milano, 1848-59, II, p. 154, cited I. Affò, *Memorie degli scrittori e letterati parmigiani*, Parma, 1789-97, III, p. 53, as authority for similar statements, and remarked that *Il Manganello* was too early to be the work of Pietro Aretino (1492-1556), to whom it had sometimes been ascribed. Melzi prints from a manuscript the following note (also in Brunet, see below):

1. Cf. V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, p. 165.

"Il Manganello fu melanese, e perchè amò meno discretamente una giovane in Ferrara, ne rilevò ferite, e un'altra volta tre tratti di corda; il che riconoscendo aver avuto per commissione della duchessa, contro lei scrisse questa satira."

In spite of these statements, I believe *Manganello* to be the title of the poem, not the name or nickname of the author. Certainly Boccaccio's *Corbaccio*,<sup>1</sup> cited near the beginning of the text, did not give its name to the poem. In the Middle Ages the word *màngano* commonly meant "mangonel", a military catapult for hurling stones against the enemy; the diminutives *manganella* and *manganello* were used in the same sense. At present, *mangano* and *manganella* are used chiefly in the sense of "mangle", a machine with cylinders for pressing washed linen, etc.; also, like the Milanese *manganell*, as equivalent to *randello*, a stick or a wooden lever. *Manganello* is also said to be used for the stick carried by Pulcinello. In the title of our poem, the sense of catapult or crossbow seems adequate, very possibly with an obscene suggestion (as there certainly is in capitolo x, though perhaps not in cap. 1 — see quotation below); the meaning "stick" is also possible. Antonio Pucci uses *mangano* and the two diminutives in the military sense; the following instances may be interesting:

Stando all'assedio, più volte alle mani  
Fur con que' dentro, e di dì, e di notte  
Vi traboccavan con molti mangani.  
*Centiloquio* LII, terz. 81

e molte offese  
D'intorno con trabocchi, e manganegli.  
*Centiloquio*, LXVII, terz. 71

1. Ezio Levi, *Botteghe e canzoni della vecchia Firenze*, Bologna, 1928, p. 62, argues that Boccaccio took the term *Corbaccio*, as a name for his scourging of women, from the Spanish *corvajo*, "riding-whip", a word brought to Florence in the fourteenth century by Spanish or Catalan condottieri, and current there as long as Catalan fashions lasted. There has been considerable uncertainty about the origin of the word *Corbaccio*.

E molte Torri per Firenze armate  
 Si furon, saettando le quadrella  
 Contr'agli avversi a tutte le fiata.  
 Quella del Vescovo era armata, e bella,  
 E grosse pietre continuamente  
 Gittava ognor con una manganella.  
*Centiloquio*, xli, terz. 23-24

Con torri di legname e con castella,  
 Trabocchi, gatti, grilli e manganella,  
 E balestrier forniti di quadrella,  
 Battaglia dura...<sup>1</sup>

Two sixteenth-century editions of *Il Manganello* are described by Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, tome III, part II (1862), col. 1364: one in roman type similar to that of a book known to have been printed about 1530; the other "en gros caractère italique, que nous croyons postérieure." The two editions have the same number of folios, twenty-eight, and they agree in giving no name of author or printer, no place and no date. The Bibliothèque Nationale has a copy of the edition first mentioned, of which I have a complete photostat; and from this same copy, apparently, the text was reprinted in 1860 for "une réunion de bibliophiles," and not for sale (Paris, Jouaust, small 8vo, pp. xii, 68; the cover reads: *Raccolta di rarissimi opuscoli italiani degli XV e XVI secoli. I. Il Manganello. Parigi, MDCCCLX*). The edition was limited to 100 copies, one of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale and one in the British Museum. I am unable to locate any other copies of any of the three editions.

A manuscript of *Il Manganello*, the only one known to me, is preserved in the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville, with the call-number 7. 1. 51. So far as I can determine, it has never

1. *Sermintese storico di Antonio Pucci per la Guerra di Firenze con Pisa*, ed. D'Ancona, per nozze, Livorno, 1876, p. 12 (from Kir-kup manuscript); Ferri, p. 266. *Manganella* here seems to be a plural of *manganello*. For other instances in Pucci, see *Centiloquio* IV, terz. 55; XIX, 38 and XLIII, 32, same verse repeated; *Guerra Pisana* I, stanza 31; IV, 22; Ferri, p. 195. The verb *manganare* also occurs in Pucci's poems, and in an anonymous sonnet cited in the Introduction, p. LXXXIII.

been described in connection with the editions of the same text ; it has been impossible for me to see it or to secure a complete copy of it, but I have fortunately been able to obtain sufficient evidence to show that the text corresponds verse for verse, and almost word for word, with that of the edition of which I have a photostat. Even the number of folios is the same, twenty-eight. For this information I am indebted to two friends: Dr. Homero Seris procured for me some notes concerning the manuscript, with a copy of a few lines of the text ; Prof. Antonio Solalinde collated a considerable portion of the text, and from his collation are derived the variants here given. An important feature of the manuscript is the inscription at the end of the text (f. 28v):

EXPLICIT MANGANUS  
DNI FRANCISCI MEDIOLANENSIS

This confirms the connection of the author with Milan, as mentioned in the note quoted above from Melzi and Brunet ; but it does not help us fix the date. Fernando Colón noted on the manuscript the date when he acquired it: "Estelibro costó 20 quatrines en Ferrara á 22 de Março de 1531 y el ducado de oro vale 426 quatrines." The number of the manuscript in Don Fernando's Register is given as: "Manganelo de le donne in rima de mano 10163 y de molde 10462." He purchased in Italy some of his Spanish manuscripts; and the form Juan Bochacio in Cap. I, as well as the prevalence of single consonants, suggests a Spanish copyist. On the other hand, the form *nolgia* for *noia* points to North Italy.

In giving the following analysis of *Il Manganello*, the extracts from the text reproduce scrupulously the orthography and punctuation of the sixteenth-century edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale; the variants of the Seville manuscript are added where they present some interest and are not simply orthographical. The marginal numbers refer to verses, not to terzine.



## IL MANGANELLO

CAPITOLO PRIMO<sup>1</sup>

- Cantando noue cose in terza rima  
 Mi venne volonta d'un nouo impaccio,  
 Non pero strano à chi del ver si stima.
- 4 Io credo, che Messer Giouan Boccaccio  
 Vedesse Giuuenal Giunio d'Aquino  
 Prima, ch'ei componesse il suo Corbaccio.
- 7 Donde rittrasse in vn volgar latino  
 Il vituperio, il fastidio, e la puzza,  
 Che mena al mondo il sesso feminino.
- 10 Ne dicon d'una trista feminuzza,  
 Ma dicon di gran donne, e di gran stato,  
 Si come ciascaduna si scapuzza.
- 13 Pouere, e ricche e d'ordine sacro,  
 Qual ella sia di maggior riuerenza,  
 Pero che l'uno e l'altro ho ben cercato.
- 16 Giunio fu gallo, & Giouan di Fiorenza,  
 L'uno è molt'anni gia, l'altro è moderno,  
 Et tutti duo fermar questa sentenza.
- 19 Si che per lo miglior tanto discerno,  
 Siluestro mio per Dio non pigliar moglie,  
 Se tu non voi star sempre in vn'inferno.
- .....
- 28 Questa rabbiosa, & affamata gola  
 Non ti lasciera mai pigliar piacere,  
 Sonar il corno, ne toccar viola.
- 31 Ma sempre guerra, danno, e dispiacere  
 Harai da lei, & rincresceuol vita,  
 Se non consenti à tutto'l suo volere.
- 34 Sempre di oltraggi ella stara fornita,  
 Et mille volte al di ti dara noia,  
 Che ti sarebbe meglio esser romita.
- 37 Femina non fu mai, che non sia croia.  
 Femina non fu mai, che non sia pazza.  
 Femina non fu mai, che non sia troia.
- 40 Elle vorrebbon star sempre à la piazza,

1. Ms. 1 (C)antando molte cosse in tersia rima — 2 impacio —  
 3 se extima — 4 Io credo bem che messer Juan Bochacio — 5  
 Juuenale Iunio — 6 so Corbacio — 8 pucia — 9 sexo — 10 femi-  
 nucia — 12 scapucia — 16 Iunio... da Firencia — 19 melgiore —  
 20 molgie — 35 nolgia — 38 paza — 40 piacia — 41 ciampogna —  
 42 guacia — 43-45 sencia — (Capitolo I has 40 terzine).

- E tirar la sampogna, e'l mangello,  
 Sempre con la bugada, e con la guazza.
- 43 Femina non fu mai senza coltello.  
 Femina non fu mai senza ruina.  
 Femina non fu mai senza bordello.
- 46 Io vo cantar di questa mala spina  
 Seguendo la sentenza di coloro,  
 Che ti sara Siluestro gran dottrina.
- 49 Vedi diuerse lingue in vn lauoro  
 Di duo saui dottori esser concorde  
 Contra la cruda rabbia di costoro.

Capitolo II (38 terzine) describes the marriage of an old man and a young wife, who complains bitterly and at considerable length concerning her lot; it begins:

Io credo ben, c'habbia Cermisone  
 Per quel, ch'un suo, & vn mio amico dica  
 Anni sessanta quattro in sul groppone,  
 Et cerca vna moglier casta, e pudica,  
 E la vol da Milan giouane, e bella,  
 E de la dote non si cura mica.  
 Vdisti mai la piu ricca nouella  
 D'un gran dottor d'arte di medicina,  
 Che cerca sposa in l'eta vecchiarella...

Capitolo III (42 terzine) relates the varied subjects in literature and science mastered by a lady of Padua and other *femmes savantes*; it begins:

Eraui vna matrona Padouana,  
 Che (come credo) fu de li scrouigni,  
 Che facea versi, & era poetana.  
 Questa sapeua tutti i belli ordigni  
 De silogismi, e formar l'entimema,  
 E disputar con tutti i piu ferigni...

Capitolo IIII (37 terzine) describes certain magical spells, and relates a scurrilous tale about Monna Nana and a mule; it begins:

Trouansi feminine d'altre sorti,  
 Che sanno far malie prestigiose...

Capitolo v (38 terzine) is an amusing but obscene account of some young girls and their behavior; it begins:

Gentil fantine d'otto, o di dieci anni...

Capitolo vi (33 terzine), containing stories of a character which can be readily imagined about monks and nuns, begins:

Venite puttanaccie da Ferrara...

Capitolo vii (37 terzine), containing various anecdotes, begins:

Scriuono alcun de la mendace Grecia,  
Come Penelope honesta visse,  
Et alcuni altri à Roma di Lugrecia...

Capitolo viii (35 terzine) describes the methods of women in managing their households; it begins:

Leuerassi la moglie indiauolata...

Capitolo ix (38 terzine) contains a novella, followed by general condemnation of women; it begins:

For di Rauenna staua vn' abbadessa,  
Che si chiamaua Madonna Castella,  
Nata de i conti de la leonessa...

Capitolo x (38 terzine), containing a novella, begins:

Madonna cara cosa Brunamonte,  
Ch'era moglier di Messer Baldouino,  
La dapresso Paris vn ricco conte...

In Capitolo xi (35 terzine) every *terzina* begins "La femina," and forms a unit expressing in epigrammatic style some unfavorable opinion of the sex. In this respect it recalls verses 37-45 of Capitolo i; like Capitolo xii, it differs from the other capitoli in having continuity of form by means of a repeated phrase, as in the *Noie*, but no continuity of matter from one *terzina* to the next. A few *terzine* may be quoted:

La femina si troua esser bugiarda,  
 Falsa, rissosa, & affatturatrice,  
 Disconcia, porca, imbriaacca, e licarda.  
 La femina si troua incantatrice  
 Di herbe, di fatture, e di demoni,  
 E d'ogni venenosa altra radice.

.....

La femina non fa se non pensare  
 Di far cosa, che spiaccia al suo marito  
 Per farlo matto per la strada andare.

.....

La femina si volge, come foglia  
 Senza stabilitate, e senza fede  
 Inuidiosa, e piena d'ogni doglia.  
 La femina ne in Dio, ne in santi crede,  
 Ne sa, che sia peccato, o uillania,  
 Ne satisfar ad alcuna mercede.

.....

La femina non vol à festa andare  
 Per diuotione, ne per veder messa,  
 Ma solamente pur per vagheggiare.

This last *terzina* recalls Pucci's condemnation, *Noie* *terz.* 10, of the man who in church "le done vaghegia." The form of this *Cap. xi* as a whole suggests the possibility that the author had seen a manuscript of Pucci's *Zibaldone*, in which, after quotations from several authorities all beginning with the words "La femina," is inserted the sonnet sent to Pucci by Buto Giovannini. The sonnet is found in other manuscripts, but without the additional material given in the prose of the *Zibaldone* (cf. p. LXXIV, above). The text of the sonnet is here given according to Pucci's autograph, *Cod. Laur. Temp. 2*, f. 118:

Buto giovannini contra le femine... scrisse cosi... mando  
 Antonio pucci questo sonetto.

Antonio mio, di femina pavento  
 però che femina è con ongni inghanno,  
 femine di natura propio affanno,  
 femine d'ongni mal cominciamento.  
 Femina è da ongni mal convento,  
 femina è dell'uom verghongna e danno,



femina mal pensa tutto l'anno,  
 femina d'ogni bene è struggimento.  
 Femina a pecchare adamo indusse,  
 femina a' fiesolani fe perder prouva,  
 femina fu che luni se ne strusse.  
 Femina a mal far sempre rinnuova,  
 femina diavolo credo che fusse,  
 femina fu in cui tutto ben si truova.  
 Non aspettar che piova  
 grazia da la tua donna; fanne challo  
 però che con niuna è buono stallo.

The text in the Riccardian and Magliabechian manuscript: of the *Zibaldone*, as published by D'Ancona in 1870 (*Una Poesia ed una Prosa*, Bologna, extract from *Propugnatore*, II and III), is almost the same except that verse 14 reads: *Femina in cui bene non si truova*. In republishing the article in 1913 (*Saggi di Letteratura popolare*, Livorno, pp. 371-86), D'Ancona gave the text of Cod. Laur. Temp. 2, but with some modernization of spelling; he suggested that verse 14 ought to read: *Femina fu in cui nullo ben si truova*. A more plausible reading is that of Cod. Riccard. 1103, f. 158: *Sol una fu in chu ben si truova*; but this manuscript ascribes the sonnet, as well as the reply, to Antonio Pucci, and the sonnet begins: *Sonetto mio di femina pavento*. From this manuscript apparently, it was taken by the editor of *Poesie di A. P.*, IV, p. 292; in verse 11, instead of *Luni* as the city destroyed by a woman, we have *Troia*, which looks like a *lectio faciliior*. Ferri, pp. 81, 194, reverses the order of the two sonnets, and ascribes both to Pucci, thus following the ascription of Riccard. 1103 and ignoring the authority of Pucci's own manuscript and D'Ancona's demonstration. The *Sonetti del Burchiello*, Londra, 1757, p. 199, gives both sonnets, the first one beginning: *Amico mio, di Femina pavento*. Ferri follows this reading of the first line, which has not been found in any manuscript; and, like Burchiello, has in verse 14: *Sol una fu, ecc.*, but otherwise follows D'Ancona, with *Luni* in verse 11, where Burchiello has: *Femina fu, che già l'Uomo distrusse*. Cod. Riccard. 1717, f. 49, gives the two sonnets without

author's name, the first one beginning, as in Ricc. 1103, *Sonetto mio*, and also having *troia* in v. 11, but in v. 14 agreeing with Laur. Temp. 2; while Cod. Laurenziano XC. sup. 89, f. 154, gives the two sonnets essentially as in Laur. Temp. 2, ascribing the first one (*Antonio mio...*) to Buto Giovannini, but without mentioning Pucci; from this manuscript the reply sonnet was published by Volpi, *Rime di Trecentisti minori*, p. 109, as of Pucci. Ferri, as usual following blindly Bilancioni's list of manuscripts, states (p. 195) that the sonnet *Amico mio di femina pavento* is in Cod. Barberini LXV. 47, f. 173; this is an error: the manuscript in question (see G. Lega's edition) contains a sonnet beginning *Amico meo*, but otherwise entirely different; and it is not by Butto messo da Firenze, as Ferri states.

The reply sonnet mentioned above is worthy of quotation here as showing Pucci's attitude toward women, which is obviously the opposite of that expressed in the sonnet by Buto, to say nothing of *Il Manganello*; see also Pucci's *Contrasto delle Donne* (edited by D'Ancona, *op. cit.*), and the chapter of our introduction, "The *Noie* as a literary form." The sonnet reads as follows in Cod. Laur. Temp. 2:

*Risposta fecie antonio pucci*

La femina fa l'uom viver contento:  
gl'uomini senza lor niente fanno;  
trista la casa dove non ne stanno,  
però che senza lor vi si fa stento.  
Per ongnuna ch'è rea, ne son cento  
che con gran pregio di virtude vanno;  
e quando son vestite di bel panno,  
nostr'è l'onore e lor l'addornamento.  
Ma gl'uomini le tenghon pur con busse,  
e senza colpa ongnun par che si muova  
a bestemmiar chi'n casa gl'el condusse.  
Tal vuol gran dota che non val tre huova,  
e po' si pente c'acciò si ridusse,  
e tanto le vuol ben quant'ell'è nuova.  
Perchè di lor mi giova,  
contra cchi mal ne dice, senza fallo  
difender vo'le a piede e a cchavallo.

In the manuscripts and editions of the two sonnets there are other variations of text, which need not concern us here; and after this digression we return to the *Manganello*, finding that whatever may be thought of the suggestion here made that its author had seen Pucci's *Zibaldone*, at any rate the next capitolo seems to be a definite imitation of the *Noie*, so far as metrical form is concerned. Not only does it consist of *terzine* unconnected except by the rhyme, but each *terzina* except the last three begins with the same repeated phrase, making of this Capitolo XII (33 *terzine*) a typical example of the *enueg* or *Noie*. The repeated phrase seems to be undoubtedly copied from that of Pucci's *Noie*; in the Seville manuscript it is *Anolgia me*, which may be divided *A nolgia m'è*, as in Pucci's poem. In the sixteenth-century edition, however, the printer evidently took *Anoia* to be a verb, and *me* a pronoun, inserting between these words the preposition *a*, which he prints in the French manner with an accent — usually *à*, but occasionally *á*. As the language of the poem is in general Tuscan, the form of the phrase used in the manuscript is probably not original; it is similar to, but not identical with, the forms used in two manuscripts of Pucci's *Noie* — *Anoglia me* (ms. J), *Anogia me* (ms. E). It seems probable that the original form in *Il Manganello* was *Anoia me*. The following quotations are from the edition cited, with significant variants from the manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

## CAPITOLO XII

Anoia à me la femina Signori  
A dirvi 'l ver, come si dice al prete,

1. Ms. 1 *ANolgia me* (*and so throughout*) — 2 *dirne il vero* — 5 *un stronzo de gatta* — 39 *Di lungi con tri* — 42 *non gel volgiono* — 44 *borbolindo* — 48 *ciachagnando* — 49 *quando li si berlesche* — 55 *quando la se rebuffa* — 57 *seco la zuffa* — 60 *lalgio puzolente* — 86 *chele maluasa* — 90 *dispresio* — 92 *te impatiar* — 93 *lascala scorticata* — 95 *Iuuenale* — 97 *lassa* — 98 *luppa maluasia e discorepta* (*maluggia sic, for maluagia*) — 99 *cason* — 100 *mala-decta*.

- Perch'ella è piena di tutti i dolori.  
 4 Anioia à me, perch'ella pute, e fete  
 Piu, che non fa il stronzo d'una gatta,  
 E voi, che le toccate il sentirete.
- .....
- 37 Anioia à me la femina barbuta,  
 Ma quando tu la senti à te venire,  
 Da lunghi con tre sassi la saluta,  
 40 Anioia à me vederla imbizzarire  
 Con le vicine per vna gallina,  
 C'ha fatto l'ouo, e non glie'l voglion dire.  
 43 Anioia à me la sera, e la mattina  
 Vdirla andar per casa borbottando,  
 E batter il ragazzo e la fantina.  
 46 Anioia à me sentirla andar cantando  
 Canzon francesi, e vie peggio thedesche,  
 E poi la pertusata zaccagnando.  
 49 Anioia à me, quand'ell'è in se berlesche,  
 Et che non si contenti d'un'amante,  
 Anzi si mostran con molti altri fresche.  
 52 Anioia à me, quandella sta dauante  
 Al suo marito, e parla per gramuffa  
 Con qualche frate de le cose sante.  
 55 Anioia à me, quand'ella si rabuffa  
 Pur col marito, che non le consente  
 Cio, ch'ella vol, e con seco s'acciuffa.  
 58 Anioia à me quand'ella mostra 'l dente  
 Al medico, che pute ne la bocca,  
 Et ha mangiato l'aglio puzzolente.  
 61 Anioia à me, quand'ella fila à rocca,  
 E fa star il marito su la banca  
 A ritenir il fuso, che non scocca.
- .....
- 85 Anioia à me, ch'ell'è cattiuu, e matta.  
 Anioia à me, ch'ell'è maluagia, e ria.  
 Anioia à me, perch'ell'è mentecatta.  
 88 Anioia mi fu sempre, e sempre fia  
 Questa bestia rabbiosa, e disfrenata,  
 Nata in dispetto d'ogni cortesia.  
 91 Pero Siluestro fuggi sua brigata,  
 Non t'impacciar di sua mala ventura.  
 Lasciala andar, ch'ella sia scortegata.  
 94 Attendi ben à questa mia lettura  
 Tratta dal buon poeta Giuuenale,  
 Che capo è pur de la vecchia scrittura,  
 97 E lascia star questa furia infernale,



Questa lupa maluggia, e discorretta,  
 Che sempre fu cagion di ciascun male,  
 In cielo e in terra e da Dio maledetta.

Capitolo XIII (34 terzine) begins:

Da Roma venne à Bologna vna Zanna...

The first seven terzine contain an anecdote; then the author turns to his young friend:

Siluestro mio non creder, ch'à solazzo  
 Io mi sia messo à far questo libretto  
 Per far andar le mie parole à guazzo.  
 Ma pigliale con sauiò, e buon' effetto...

The remainder of the poem is a general condemnation of women, whom the author regards as an unfortunately necessary evil in the world. The final terzine are as follows:

- 85 Fuggi Siluestro il maledetto vermo,  
 Et non esser nel numero de i pazzi,  
 Che del mio dir si faran forse schermo.
- 88 Fuggi al postuto tutti i lor solazzi.  
 Perche son venenosi, e pien di noia,  
 Di spine, di soghetti, & altri lazzi,
- 91 Tanto che spesso auien che l'huom ne muoia.  
 E chi ne vol ne piglii. tu non 'l fare.  
 Lascia da parte questa mala troia.
- 94 Piglia 'l consiglio mio, non lo schiffare,  
 Che tu ne viuerai gran tempo sano,  
 Allegro, e bello come si de stare.
- 97 Viui gentil, e non punto villano,  
 Come de far ciascun sia chi si sia,  
 Perch'ognialtro pensier per certo è vano.
- 100 Fuggi ogni noia, & ogni ricadia,  
 Sì come predicaua frate Puscio,  
 Che morta sia tristitia, e villania,  
 E chi riman da dietro serri l'uscio.<sup>1</sup>

IL FINE

1. Ms. 87 scherno (*which is doubtless the meaning, though the rhyme requires schermo*) — 89 nolgia — 90 sogetti — 91 moia — 98 die far ciascun fin chel ce sia — 100 nolgia — 101 Pussio — 103 drieto seri lussio



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*Delle Poesie di Antonio Pucci, celebre versificatore fiorentino del MCCC. e prima, della Cronica di Giovanni Villani ridotta in terza rima, pubblicate, e di osservazioni accresciute da Fr. Ildefonso di San Luigi, carmelitano scalzo della provincia di Toscana, accademico fiorentino*. Volume primo. In Firenze l'anno MDCCLXXII. Per Gaet. Cambiagi stampator granducaie. Con licenza de' Superiori.

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3. *Apollonio di Tiro* (ff. 27a, 32a-33b; fragment):  
Also in ms. *K* of the *Noie* (as above). Printed in Venice, 1486; reprinted 1489, 1490, 1492, 1500, 1520, 1555, 1560, 1610, 1620, 1625, 1705 (see Zambrini, *Opere Volgari*, col. 848; Leone Del Prete, *Storia d'Apollonio di Tiro*, Lucca, 1861).
4. *Madonna Lionessa* (f. 49a; last four stanzas only):  
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On Nos. 1-4 see also Ezio Levi, "I Cantari leggendari del popolo italiano nei secoli xiv e xv" in *GSLI*, Suppl. 16 (1914); E. G. Gardner, *The Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature*, London, Dent, 1930, chap. xii; and pp. xli ff., above.
5. *Le Proprietà di Mercato Vecchio* (ff. 49a-50b);  
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*Lucchesi*, Lucca, Canovetti, 1868 (62 copies, per nozze Giannelli-Tesini); Ferri, p. 249. A somewhat different version in G. Sercambi, *Le Croniche*, ed. Bonghi, Roma, 1892, I, pp. 190-202, 449-51.

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of victims of the cholera in 1884; Pucci's serventese followed by two anonymous sonnets); Volpi, *Rime di trecentisti minori*, p. 100; Ferri, p. 275. Cf. *RivCLI*, II, 31.

14. *Lamento del Duca d'Atene* (serventese, 1343, ff. 86a-87b):

Published by C. Paoli, "Nuovi documenti intorno a Gualtieri di Brienne," in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, ser. III, Vol. XVI (1872), pp. 52-62; A. Medin e L. Frati, *Lamenti storici dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, 3 vols., Bologna, 1887-90 (*Scelta* ccxix, ccxxvi, ccxxxvi; Vol. IV, Padova, 1894), I, p. 23; Ferri, p. 270. Cf. Medin, "Il Duca d'Atene nella poesia contemporanea," in *Propugnatore*, N. S., III (1890), pp. 389-418.

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17. *Serventese per l'acquisto di Lucca*, 1341 (ff. 89b-92a):

Unpublished.

18. *Serventese per la guerra con Pisa*, 1341 (92a-93b):

Unpublished.

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21. *Canzone a Firenze* (f. 95b):

One stanza only; unpublished.

22. *Serventese dei Podestà di Firenze* (ff. 97a-98b):

Fragment; unpublished.

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#### *Centiloquio* (91 canti in terza rima):

Published in *Poesie di A. P.*, 1772-75, Vols. I-IV, from Cod. Magliab. II. iii. 83 (XXV. 327) and II. iii. 84 (XXV. 548), and a Cod. Tempiano (*op. cit.*, I, pp. xxix-xxxix). See above, p. xxxix; A. D'Ancona, *In lode di Dante, capitolo e sonetto di Antonio Pucci, poeta del secolo decimoquarto*, Pisa, Nistri, 1868 (per nozze Bonghi-Ranalli); *Illustrazioni di Vittorio Imbriani al capitolo dantesco del Centiloquio*, Napoli, Marghieri, 1880 (cf. V. Imbriani, "Sulla rubrica dantesca nel Villani," in *Propugnatore* XII, XIII — especially XIII, I, 145-50, 379); Ferri, pp. 85-118.

#### *Centiloquio*, Canto LV (*Poesie di A. P.*, III, 111-21):

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*Centiloquio*, Canto LXXXIV (*Poesie di A. P.*, IV, 100-10): Morpurgo et Luchaire, *La grande inondation de l'Arno*, pp. 42-59, with French translation and notes.

*Centiloquio*, Canto xci (*Poesie di A. P.*, IV, 177-87):

Beside manuscripts containing the *Centiloquio* complete, others have this final canto, *Bellezze di Firenze*, as a separate composition: mss. CFMNT of the *Noie*, also Magliab. II. i. 397 and VII. 1066, Riccard. 683 and 1600, Maruc. C. 155, Laur. XC. inf. 47, Ambros. C. 35, etc. Printed by J. de Ripolis, Florentiae, 1482 (Zambrini, *Op. Volg.*, 842). Included by Corbinelli in the *Raccolta di rime d'antichi Toscani* which he appended to his editions of *La Bella Mano di Giusto de' Conti*, printed in Paris, 1589 and 1595; also in later editions, with readings corrected from manuscripts: Firenze, 1715, p. 176 (cf. p. xx); Verona, 1750, p. 247 (cf. p. xxx). Cf. Barbi, *Studi sul canzoniere di Dante*, pp. 288-97. Contrary to the statement of Manni, *Poesie di A. P.*, I, p. vi, and of Lazzeri in *RBLI*, XVII, 105, the canto is not included in the ed. prin. of *La Bella Mano*, Bologna, 1472. Also printed by A. F. Gori, *La Toscana illustrata nella sua storia*, Livorno, Anton Santini, 1755, I, pp. 139-50: "Aggiunta al discorso della nobiltà di Firenze e de' Fiorentini d'un capitolo di M. Antonio Pucci dell' anno

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*Centiloquio*, selections from Canti XLIX-LII :

P. Vigo, *Uguccione della Faggiuola potestà di Pisa e di Lucca*, Livorno, F. Vigo, 1879, pp. 130, 177-88.

*Gismirante*:

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Canzone: *Un gentiluom di Roma una fiata*:

Published in *L'Etruria*, II (1852), 124-27; also by Carducci, Wesselofsky, Ambrosoli, Lumbroso, Ferri — see pp. XLIV-XLVII above, and references there given. The canzone on the same subject, *Al tempo della Tavola Ritonda*, perhaps also by Pucci, published by P. Rajna in *ZRP*, II (1877), 381-87.

Canzone: *Vecchiezza viene all'uom, quand'ella viene*:

Contained in many manuscripts, including mss. CGMN of the *Noie*. Printed in Siena in 1546; by Allacci (as of M. Antonio Buffone); in *Poesie di A. P.*, IV, pp. 293-96 as probably by Pucci; by C. Arlia, "Due componimenti di Antonio Pucci" in *Propugnatore*, XIV, I, 161-69, also separately, Bologna, 1881; by Ferri, p. 219. Mss. M and C ascribe to Pucci. See above, pp. xxviii-xxx. Critical edition in preparation.

Canzone: *Quella di cui i' son veracemente*:

Published: *Canzone in lode di bella donna aggiuntovi un sonetto fatto per uno ch'era in gran fortuna*. *Componi-*

*menti toscani del sec. XIV dati in luce dal dott. Enrico Wellesley, Oxford, Shrimpton, 1851. Republished from Cod. Magliab. VII. 1145, which ascribes to Antonio Pucci, together with another canzone from the same manuscript, but without author's name, beginning: "L'alta virtù di quel collegio santo," by Giuseppe Arcangeli, Canzoni di Antonio Pucci poeta fiorentino del sec. XIV, Prato, Albergetti, 1852 (per nozze); both canzoni reprinted by Carducci, Rime di M. Cino, 1862, p. 445 ff., 1928, p. 456 ff. First canzone only in Ferri, p. 214. See p. xxxiii above; and cf. P. Fanfani in L'Etruria, I (1851), p. 383, II, pp. 62, 286.*

Canzone: *Bench'io conosca e vegga che 'l tacere:*

In Cod. Maruc. C. 155; formerly in Cod. Riccard. 1050 (see Morpurgo, *Manoscritti della Biblioteca Riccardiana*, p. 45), on a page now lost; ascribed in both mss. to Pucci. Published by Ferri, p. 150.

Ballata: *Piaggiando parla ciascun che favella:*

In Cod. Chigiano L, iv, 131, p. 723, with this heading: "Questi versi fece Anto. Pucci per li bugiardi." Published by Ferri, p. 149. Of interest in relation to Dante, *Inf.* vi. 69: "Con la forza di tal che testè piaggia."

Laudi:

(1) *O gloriosa e santa povertade*

In Cod. Riccard. 1294, f. 90r. Published by F. Corazzini, *Miscellanea di cose inedite o rare*, Firenze, 1853; Carducci, *Rime di M. Cino e d'altri*, 1862, p. 465, 1928, p. 476; Volpi, *Rime di trecentisti minori*, p. 112; Ferri, p. 224.

(2) *Veggendo ber Gesù aceto e fele*

In Cod. Riccard. 1294, f. 12r, and repeated on f. 90v; also in Cod. Marciano It. II, 74, f. 23r; and Cod. Chigiano L, vii, 266. Published by Volpi, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Ferri, p. 227.



(3) *Facciam festa del Signor de' Signori*

In Cod. Riccard. 1294, f. 12v; Cod. Marciano and Cod. Chigiano as above. Published by Ferri, p. 153.

On these laudi, see, p. xxx, above; Morpurgo, *Manoscritti della Biblioteca Riccardiana*, pp. 356-63; and C. Frati e A. Segarizzi, *Catalogo dei codici Marciani italiani*, Modena, 1909, I, p. 244. In Riccard., they occur in connection with 81 sonnets, 10 stanzas and 117 capitoli in terza rima, headed "I Vangelii de la Quaresima"; sonnet No. 70 (Ferri, p. 299) and the laudi bear the name of Antonio Pucci, and Morpurgo believes that the entire group of poems may be by him. Ferri, p. 153, gives the number of the manuscript wrongly as 2760; it was at one time into two, numbered 1294 and 2760. This manuscript is of the end of the fourteenth century.

## Sonnets in Corona:

(1) *Sonetto d'amor che fe' Antonio Pucci da Firenze*

A corona of nineteen sonnets forming a dialogue or contrasto between the poet, the sonnet itself and the lady. In Cod. Riccard. 1103, the first two sonnets in other mss. as well. Published by A. D'Ancona, "XIX Sonetti inediti di Antonio Pucci," in *Propugnatore*, XI, ii, pp. 105-25 (1878); reprinted by Ferri, pp. 157-66, as "I diciannove sonetti del Messaggio." Reprinted by Carducci, *Antica lirica italiana*, Firenze, 1907. Cf. p. xxxii, above.

(2) *L'Arte del dire in rima*

Twelve sonnets. In Cod. 42 of the Biblioteca Comunale at Udine, ff. 297-301 (cf. *Inventari*, III, p. 191). Published by A. D'Ancona, "L'Arte del dire in rima: sonetti di Antonio Pucci," in *Miscellanea di Filologia e Linguistica in Memoria di Napoleone Caix e Ugo Canello*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1886; the separate was issued in advance in 1885, and was reviewed

by S. Morpurgo in *RivCLI*, II (giugno, 1885), 180.  
Reprinted by Ferri, pp. 167-75. Cf. p. xxxv, above.

(3) Sonnets on the Ten Commandments, etc.

Thirteen sonnets and a "madriale" from Cod. Riccard. 1294 (see note on Laudi, above); the ten on the Commandments are also in Cod. Magliab. VII. 375, ff. 4r-6r. Twelve sonnets and madriale, Cod. Riccard., ff. 84v-89v, reprinted by Ferri, pp. 291-99, from D'Ancona's edition in *Serto di ozzanti fiori da giardini dell'antichità deposto sulla tomba della Clelia Vespignani*, raccolto da F. Zambrini, Imola, Galeati, 1882, pp. 210-31. These are anonymous in both mss., but may be by Pucci, as suggested by Morpurgo. Ferri adds, p. 299, the one sonnet in Cod. Riccard. 1294 which bears Pucci's name: "Dice el vangelio se ben mi ricorda," f. 10r.

Sonnets not in Corona:

Many manuscripts and printed books contain, singly or in groups, sonnets ascribed to Antonio Pucci — some of them certainly by him, some by other writers, and some of uncertain authorship. The largest group in one manuscript consists of seventy sonnets in Cod. Magliab. VII, 1145; of these, Ferri prints about thirty for the first time, but several still remain unpublished. Ferri prints in all 141 sonnets, but this number is far from including all that may plausibly be assigned to Pucci. On the other hand, various manuscripts and editions ascribe authentic sonnets of Pucci to other authors. For example, editions of the *Sonetti* of Burchiello (undated edition printed at Venice, 1472; edition of 1490; enlarged edition printed at Lucca in 1757, falsely dated "Londra 1757": *Sonetti del Burchiello del Bellincioni e d'altri poeti fiorentini alla Burchiellesca*) include one sonnet with the name Antonio Pucci ("Amico alcun non è ch'altrui soccorra", Volpi, p. 111, Ferri, p. 178), and thirteen others as by Burchiello which manuscripts

assign to Pucci (ten of the thirteen are in Cod. Magliab. VII, 1145). Some of the sonnets ascribed to Burchiello are in manuscripts older than his time (1404-49), and probably less than half of them were actually written by him. Allacci, in addition to the 25 sonnets which he ascribes (in some cases wrongly) to Pucci, gives to other authors at least three others which are by Pucci. Corazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 321, gives a sonnet by Pucci to Orcagna. Trucchi, *Poesie italiane inedite di dugento autori*, Prato, 1846, II, p. 192, ascribes the ballata "Ciascun faccia per sè" (Ferri, p. 287) to Soldanieri; and, p. 239, the sonnet "Io veggio il mondo tutto inritrosito" (Ferri, p. 283; Burchiello, 1757 ed., p. 186), to Filippo de' Brunelleschi — both of these being assigned by manuscripts to Pucci. Angelo Mai in *Spicilegium Romanum*, I (1839), 683-88, and the Index of Bilancioni similarly assign to other writers sonnets probably by Pucci. To trace all such instances of erroneous attribution would be a thankless task; but incidentally the wish may be expressed that an index similar to that of Bilancioni should be prepared, covering both manuscripts and printed editions, on the basis of modern knowledge.

Elsewhere in this monograph (pp. xxxiv-xxxvii, xciv-xcvi, Additions to the Text — 3, Appendix—1) certain sonnets are treated with some approach to completeness bibliographically. Without attempting to enumerate all the books and articles in which sonnets and other poems by Pucci have been printed, we may give here a list of such works in addition to those already mentioned in this Bibliography or elsewhere in these pages.

A. D'Ancona, *Una poesia ed una prosa di Antonio Pucci* (see pp. LXXIII-LXXIV, 87, above).

C. Arlia, *Due sonetti di Antonio Pucci*, Firenze, 1903 (per nozze; cf. Ferri, p. 209).

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- A. M. Bandini, *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana seu Catalogus manuscriptorum*, Florentiae, 1792, II, p. 193 (cf. E. Levi, *Maestro Antonio da Ferrara*, p. 79).
- L. Biadene, "Morfologia del sonetto nei sec. XIII e XIV," in *SFR*, IV (1889), 1-234 (see pp. 29, 66, 92, 122, etc.).
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- G. Boccaccio, *Rime*, ed. A. F. Massèra, Bologna, 1914, p. 117; Torino, 1914, p. 123 (cf. p. xxiii, above).
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- G. Carducci, *Antica lirica italiana*, Firenze, 1907.
- G. A. Cesareo e L. Azzolina, *Storia della letteratura italiana con antologia*, Catania, Muglia, 1921, I, p. 422.
- E. Costa, "Il codice Parmense 1081," in *GSLI*, XII (1889), 77-108, XIII, 70-100, XIV, 31-49.
- G. M. Crescimbeni, *L'Istoria della volgar poesia*, Venezia, Basegio, 1731, I, p. 250; cf. pp. 39, 347.
- G. Crocioni, *Le Rime di Piero Alighieri*, Città di Castello, 1903, p. 34.
- Carlo Del Balzo, *Poesie di mille autori intorno a Dante Alighieri*, 13 vols., Roma, 1889-1907. Vol. I, p. 401; Vol. II, pp. 198-219.
- G. Donati, *Sonetto di Antonio Pucci ad una sposa*, Perugia, Boncompagni, 1884 (per nozze; Ferri, p. 188).
- P. Fanfani, "Sonetti morali di Antonio Pucci," in *Letture di Famiglia*, XXIX (1877), pp. 193-96.



- P. Fanfani, *Rime burlesche di eccellenti autori*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1856.
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- Fiacchi, *Opuscoli scientifici e letterari*, Firenze, 1822.
- M. Faloci Pulignani, in *Bibliofilo*, V (1884), 153-57.
- Ezio Levi, "Il Martirio del buon vino"—*aneddoto tradizionale raccolto in cinque sonetti del sec. XIV*, Pavia, Fusi, 1907 (cf. review by Ghino Lazzeri in *RBLI*, XVI (1908), pp. 133-37).
- Ezio Levi, *Maestro Antonio da Ferrara, rimatore del secolo XIV*, Roma, Rassegna Nazionale, 1920, pp. 78-81, 161.
- Charles Lyell, *The Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri... Italian and English*, London, Bohn, 1840 (and other editions), p. 392 ("Oimè, Comun...", Ferri, p. 201; Morpurgo, *Un affresco perduto*).
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- S. Morpurgo, reviews in *RivCLI*, I (1884), p. 120; II, 27, 31, 57, 180; in *GER*. IV, p. 210.
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*continued from second page of cover*

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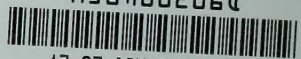
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